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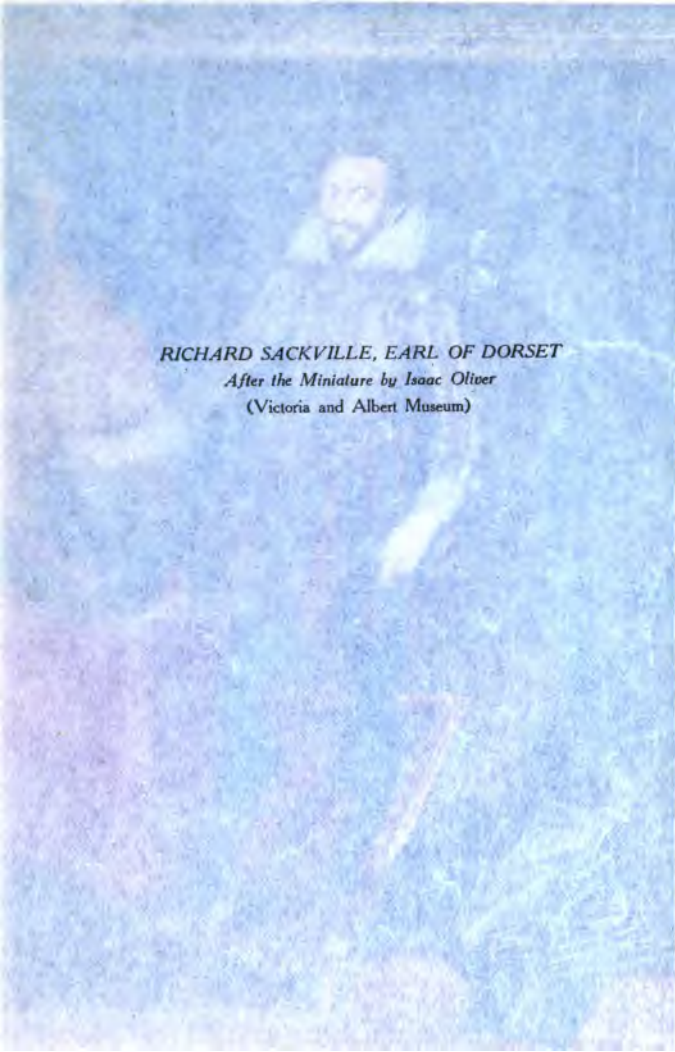
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After the Miniature by Isaac Oliver
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ARS UNA: SPECIES MILLE
GENERAL HISTORY OF ART

ART IN
GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND

BY
SIR WALTER ARMSTRONG
" "
DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND



Hogarth



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PREFACE

THE history of art in the British Isles—which still remains to be written—will be the history of a frequently arrested and frequently diverted development. The remains which have come down to us contradict the assumption, too often made, that the unequally mixed race inhabiting England, Scotland, and Ireland is essentially inartistic, and that, if left to itself, it would have produced little or nothing with which the historian of art need have been greatly concerned. It is true that the Celtic and Latin elements in our population deserve the credit of most that is good in our æsthetic production, but, after all, those Celtic and Latin elements are an integral part of our race, and we have as much right to take pride in their achievements as in the political virtues which may perhaps spring chiefly from the Teutonic strain in our blood. It is impossible to deny the æsthetic gifts of a people which has left behind it such remains as those of early Christian art in Ireland, as the exquisite churches which stud the whole of Britain, from Chichester to Elgin, as the manuscripts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries and the needlework of about the same period, as the perpendicular style of Gothic architecture, as the miniature portraits turned out in

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such countless numbers between the days of Hilliard and those of Cosway, as the renaissance architecture of Inigo Jones and Wren and their disciples, as the works of the great portrait painters of the eighteenth century and the landscape painters who followed them. To all these instances we may even add many of the results of the Gothic revival in the nineteenth century. That movement may have been a mistaken one, founded rather upon archæological than artistic ambitions, but it led, at least, to the erection of a vast number of buildings in which the forms of Gothic architecture were used to produce harmonious creations, and to a few grandiose piles, such as the Palace of Westminster, which are marvels, considering the period of their conception and the rapidity of their construction. We might even point to later developments still, as proof of the artistic capacity of our race. Has any people ever drawn itself more rapidly out of a non-artistic morass than the younger English and Scottish architects out of the chaos of nonsense building which prevailed here twenty—or even ten—years ago? Far from complete as this process still is, it has gone far enough to show that, when properly treated, British architects still have in them much of the spirit of Jones and Wren, and to suggest that, given opportunity and freedom, they might approach the triumphs of those two great builders.

For each of our happy periods and categories, we islanders can point to things of first-rate merit. Nothing, in their own way, can be set before those remains of Celtic art which are chiefly to be found in Ireland. The two centuries and a half which saw the birth, development, and decay of Gothic architecture produced nothing more perfect than the interior of Westminster Abbey, or the northeastern aspect of Salisbury, or Lincoln as a whole, or more superbly original than the chapels of Henry VI. and Henry VII. Renaissance architecture produced nothing finer than Inigo Jones's first design for Whitehall and Christopher Wren's St. Paul's. We need scarcely allude to the painters of the eighteenth century, or

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even to the long line of miniaturists, from the reign of Henry VIII. to that of George III., for these are already accepted ; but we must remember that among the *débris* of the minor arts of the Gothic ages, a sufficient number of English things exist to show that the metal worker, the illuminator, the glass painter, the needleworker, even the statue maker, practised in this country hardly less successfully than elsewhere. Examples are few, no doubt, when compared with those of the Continent, but their quality proves that in them we have the remains of a wide-spread activity.

How is it, then, that our specimens are scanty, and their affiliation often so difficult to trace ? This may be referred to three causes, which acted and reacted on each other. The first was our insular position, the second our insular character—"every Englishman is an island,"—the third, the coincidence of political and religious upheavals with critical moments in our artistic development. It is likely enough that a searching analysis would fuse these three into a single cause, and come near to proving that all the peculiarities of our artistic, as of our political history were due to the existence of the English Channel. But my immediate purpose will be sufficiently served by beginning later, and attempting to show how these three conditions, severally, affected both the progress of British art and the preservation of its results.

Our insular position hardly requires to be insisted on. To it we owe the nationality which marks our art from the dark ages onward. If there had been no Channel, we should have been a province of France, or France of us, and artistic forms would have radiated from their points of origin with no more than those slight and gradual changes *en route* by which only the expert can distinguish between one section of a single school and another. Some writers contend that, even with the Channel, we were nothing but a French province, at least in architecture. In a sense, that is partly true, but only so far as all movements become provincial as soon as they leave their initial matrix. Even this acknowledgment should be made, however,

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with reserves, for much English Gothic has no French root at all, while the earliest complete example of the purely pointed style is not in France, but in England; is inspired by English ideas, not by French; is carried out in English details, not in those elaborated by the builders of St. Denis, Paris, Sens, and Chartres.

The fairest way to put the whole matter is to say that what we know as Gothic art was the form of expression which grew naturally from the needs, opportunities, and aspirations of the races which inhabited northwestern Europe, toward the close of the Middle Ages. Steps in advance were sometimes taken in one place, sometimes in another. Then, as now, the northern French were more ambitious than their neighbors, were readier to make sacrifices, had a finer sense of structure and logic, and a more generous supply of excellent materials. So they contributed more than the rest to the common adventure. But that by no means justifies the statement that in France alone the style was alive, that there alone men were united in working out an idea, while the rest of the world hung on what they did, and produced bad imitations. Had that been so, a survey of mediæval building would have been a simple matter indeed. We should merely have had to follow the creation of forms in the Ile de France and their gradual degradation as they travelled away from that centre. English Gothic would have been merely the pale shadow of French, with no character of its own at all.¹

But it has a decided character. Apart from the general principles of the style and the more or less inevitable forms to which they led, English Gothic differs from French as much as Venetian painting does from Florentine. Its aims are so different that, nine times out of ten, we find the beauties of an English church corresponding to the defects of a French one, and *vice versâ*. Its methods are so

¹ The history of modern female costume provides a good illustration of an art which really spreads from a centre. Its birth-place is Paris, where it is the natural expression of the people. The farther it goes from the Rue de la Paix, the more lifeless and imitative it becomes; but it clings to its French forms.

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distinct that there is hardly a detail by which one cannot decide at a glance the nationality of the building on which it occurs. In short, we have all the evidence we can ask that Gothic art was here no less legitimate a birth of conditions than in France. It was no stolen child. It was inferior for exactly the same reason that the English drama is inferior to the French. Our sense of structure is not equal to theirs. We do not feel the necessity as deeply as they do of fusing method and result into unity. English architects attempted no such combinations of structural audacity and æsthetic expression as the clerestory of Amiens; but neither did they leave to posterity any such record of the ambition that overleaps itself as the choir of Beauvais!

In short, mediæval architecture in England has its own character, its own beauties and defects, its own masterpieces and failures, which prove, like other *debris* from the centuries, that the people of our islands did not greatly differ from those of the Continent, so far as their innate æsthetic gifts and aspirations were concerned. The country swarmed with builders, who knew the style they worked in as they knew the language they talked. Now and then hints reached them from without. Now and then a strolling craftsman would wander in among them from some country of the sun, while their own employers, bishops and nobles, would stimulate their ambitions by accounts of what was being done abroad. But their dialect was their own, and in rearing the sacred and secular monuments with which they covered the whole face of the country, they followed those racial instincts which have marked the Briton from their day to ours.

And so it was with the subsidiary arts. Cathedrals remain—at least in countries where the forces of destruction were less outrageously energetic than they were beyond the Tweed. But smaller things were easily put out of existence. The value of our Cathedral treasures before the Reformation was gigantic, but scarcely anything remains. Judging from what may still be found

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in sacristies abroad, our cope chests alone must have held convincing proofs of the flourishing condition of our minor arts. Such a development as that of the famous *Opus Anglicanum* does not occur in a country which owes the best part of its achievements to imported aliens. No one can study the English vestments in Italian and Spanish churches, or in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and believe the country which produced them was a hopeless laggard in the arts.

I might go on and multiply examples, but the proper place for that will be the chapters which follow. All that need be insisted on for the moment is that British artistry deserves to be studied for its own sake, to be accepted as a distinct national development, just as much as that of Italy or France. That its importance is comparatively slight is no reason for denying its sincerity and historical value, or for approaching it in a sceptical and grudging spirit. Its insular position gave it its national character. Without the Channel a single form of art would have spread from the Pyrenees to the Tay. Britain would then have been truly provincial; unless, indeed—which is quite within the bounds of possibility—the centre of gravity had shifted from the Seine to the Thames.

The nationality of our art, then, is to be credited to the sea which circumscribes us. What is the cause of our individualism? That we are individualistic, intolerant of discipline, inapt for combination, impatient of tradition, cannot, I think, be denied. Our reputation for conservatism springs from our individuality. An Englishman prefers his own way to that of other people. He likes to work out his own salvation in commerce and the arts, as well as in religion. With him the process of evolution is far from being the steady march it is with a truly conservative race, like the French, who confine their experiments to politics. The one European community which appears to share our rampant individuality is that which inhabits the delta of the Rhine, and,

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perhaps, the causes are much the same in both cases. Holland could never have come into existence at all unless her people had been strenuously self-assertive. The modern Dutch are descended from the sturdy Celtic race which nature and Julius Cæsar drove into that fight with the Rhine and the North Sea which has persisted for nearly two thousand years. The ancestors of the modern Briton were the picked men from various races who had the energy to invade these inhospitable islands in the Atlantic and to maintain their ground when there. If our history had been free from the untimely catastrophes—again largely due to our individualism—which broke the sequence, and destroyed the creations, of our art, this energy of character might have led to results equal, in their different way, to those won by the Italians and the French.

The Black Death, the Wars of the Roses, the Reformation, the Great Rebellion and the consequent incubus of the Puritans, each came at a critical moment and took a course which ensured the largest possible amount of destruction and dislocation. Had it not been for the Wars of the Roses, art would have progressed on the lines shown by such remains as we possess from the Gothic centuries, while the dissolution of the monasteries and destruction of the force which had chiefly made for artistic wealth and the safeguarding of tradition, prevented the renewal of life from native seed, and led to unhappy because non-national importations. Then a brighter era opened under Charles I., only to be spoilt again by that King's political incapacity, and the disastrous reactions to which it led. To our insular position it was due that all these catastrophes were so complete. Their destructive power was great enough to reach the sea on every hand, so that when a chance came for the renewal of life, the germ had to be sought elsewhere.

But through it all the national spirit and character can be traced. In painting, even the foreigners who came here to show us the way were affected by their English *milieu*. Holbein alone was sturdy enough to resist the influence. He worked in Blackfriars exactly

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as he would have done in Basle, had he never left his home. Van Dyck in London was not the Van Dyck of Antwerp or Genoa. He caught, at once, the English spirit, the spirit which may be recognized in English art throughout the Middle Ages, and in that art of miniature painting which alone had kept its activity unbroken. It is to this sympathetic strain in his character that he owes his influence over the course taken by English painting. Both before and after his time our native painters aimed at a certain elegance and simplicity of conception, avoiding irrelevance and making as much as they could of the distinction which marked the society they served. The passport to success of the foreign painter settling in the country was ability to fall in with this scheme.

W. A.

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A certain number of illustrations, especially in the chapter dealing with modern art, have been left to tell their own story

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without mention in the text. In a small 8vo containing more than 600 typographic blocks to 312 pages of text, this could only have been avoided either by unduly compressing the more important parts of the text, or by ignoring minor artists altogether, neither of which courses seemed advisable.



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ART IN GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND



FIG. 1.—STONEHENGE.
(Photo by Spooner.)



CHAPTER I

PRIMITIVE ART IN THE BRITISH ISLES—THE IBERIANS—THE CELTS—CHARACTERISTICS OF CELTIC ART—THEIR PERSISTENCE

THE earliest monument to which we can point in these islands as showing any trace of æsthetic ambition is Stonehenge. No remains have been found here comparable to those of the reindeer hunters of Southern France, or the decorations of the cave of Altamira, in Northern Spain. Countless objects, indeed, betraying that love for, or at least interest in, symmetry, which seems to be the first of the artistic propensities to declare itself, have been found in the deposits from both the Stone Ages. But as yet we can point to little which indicates the desire to imitate, or to decorate, or to wed one form to another harmoniously, which can be traced in the remains from the period of the reindeer hunters. In a handbook which professes to confine itself to the fine arts it is permissible, then, to begin at a comparatively recent date. The polished stone period was the period of the Swiss lake dwellings, of dolmens,¹ menhirs² and cromlechs.³ The only remaining example of this primitive architecture which has any kind of artistic character is, as I have said, Stonehenge. But that may date from a period almost as late as the beginning of the Bronze Age: *i.e.*, from about 2000 B.C. to 1500 B.C. Its huge blocks are not rough, but hewn, and their disposition shows a feeling for symmetry and artistic subordination which may almost be called cultivated.

¹ Tombs of undressed stones, piled one upon another, in the manner of jambs and lintels.

² Obelisks.

³ Circles and avenues of rough monoliths.

ART IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

After Stonehenge a long stride has to be taken before we reach another monument of architecture. In Britain, as all over Western



FIG. 2.—STONEHENGE, RESTORED.

Europe, defensive walls were the only stone structures erected during many centuries; all other buildings, religious and domestic, appear to have been of wood. The art, then, of the Bronze Age, which succeeded that of polished stone, has to be studied in remains of a less important

kind. According to the latest authorities this age lasted in Britain from about 1500 B.C. to about 300 B.C.

Bronze is a composite metal consisting of about nine parts of copper to one of tin. It was the chief material basis of civilization all over Europe and parts of Asia and Africa, for a time variously calculated by different archaeologists. The civilization of ancient Egypt belongs mainly to the Bronze Age. The copper mines of the Isthmus of Suez were worked as early as 4000 B.C., and iron had not come into general use as late as 1500 B.C. Bronze was the Greek metal as late as 800 B.C. The Bronze Age in that part of Europe which stretches, like the mount of a fan, from the Caucasus round by the north to Britain and Western France, did not come to an end till between the sixth and the fourth century B.C.

Although existing evidence points to the Caucasus as the original home of the bronze industry, new discoveries are so continually revolutionizing our ideas as to the chronology of early civilization, that no positive statement on that point can be hazarded. *Primâ facie*, it seems likely that the distribution of copper and tin deposits would have much to do with priority in their use. It is not unreasonable to suppose that wherever the two metals were found in abundance, a source of distribution existed, coming into activity as the psychological moment in the surrounding civilization arrived.



FIG. 3.—STONEHENGE.
(CONSTABLE.)

PRIMITIVE ART IN THE BRITISH ISLES

The similarity between the forms taken by early bronze objects, wherever found, is to be explained by the characteristics of the material, more often, perhaps, than we are apt to suppose. In our desire to simplify origins and round off theories, we may be too ready to ignore the forces which make for coincidence in human activities. No one who is engaged in any form of invention or mental production can deny the frequency with which a new idea will crop up simultaneously in several different quarters. This is not necessarily due to borrowing, nor to pure accident. It is brought about by some inscrutable generative force in the existing situation. The movement of art from a centre has been likened to the circles on a pond made by throwing a stone into the water. A fairer comparison would be with the countless circles made by a shower of rain. Where the shower is heaviest, the circles are thickest, but wherever a drop falls, it starts a ring, which threads its way through the others and makes its own impression on the whole surface. This simile applies better, no doubt, to advanced civilizations, in which communication is easy and rapid, than to those of primitive times; but even for the bronze and earlier ages, it has its application.

In no country in the world were the early bronze industries carried to greater perfection than in our own. The deposits of copper and tin, especially of the latter, were rich and accessible, and with the first invasion of the Celts, if not before, they fell into the hands of a race which exploited them to the best advantage.

Who were the Celts?

The Celts were a warlike race of tall, powerful men, with fair skins, blue eyes, and fair hair tending toward red. They were variously called, by Greek and Roman writers, Celtæ (κελταί), Galatæ (γαλάται), and Galli (γάλλοι). These names were originally given to all the races of Western Europe, north of the Alps, who were not Iberian or Ligurian. It was not until the time of Julius Cæsar that the name Celtæ, or Galli, was restricted to the peoples inhabiting the country between the Rhine and the Pyrenees. Their original home—using the adjective with its necessary limitations—appears to have been the upper valley of the Danube and that of the Rhone, and the district between the two. In the fourth century B.C. these Celts, Galli, or Gauls, temporarily conquered much of Italy and captured Rome itself, under Brennus. A century later they sacked the temples of Delphi. They colonized and gave their name to Galatia, in Asia Minor, and they overran the greater part of what we now call France. In their progress westward and north-

ART IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

ward, they partly drove the earlier Iberian populations before them, partly mixed with them, losing to some slight extent the saliency of their own characteristics in the process.

The first mention of the Celts in history is by Hecatzæus of Miletus (circa 500 B.C.), who incidentally alludes to Marseilles as a Ligurian city in their neighborhood.¹ They are mentioned too by various other early writers, but only in a vague and unsatisfactory way, and it is not until we come down to Polybius (204 B.C.–122) that we get much definite information about them. From him, who appears to have been one of the first to use the name Galati, we learn that the Italian Celts, the inhabitants of Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul, came from the valley of the Danube; that the Cisalpine Celts



FIG. 4.—GALLERUS ORATORY, CO. KERRY.

were an agricultural race, living in considerable ease and luxury; and that their Transalpine cousins were migratory, warlike, and ready to settle on any promising lands their swords could win.

According to the now accepted theory, the aboriginal inhabitants of Britain, partly displaced, partly absorbed, by the Celts, belonged to the widespread Iberian race, now represented, more or less in its purity, by the Basques, the South-Western Irish, the non-Celtic Welsh, and other small, dark races of Western Europe. The Celts came in two waves. The earlier invaders, the Goidels, are now represented by the Scottish Highlanders, the Celtic Irish, and the inhabitants of the Isle of Man. The second wave, of so-called Brythonic Celts, came much later, and overran most of England. These Brythonic Celts are now represented by the Celtic Welsh, the Cornishmen, and the Bretons.

These two families are sometimes distinguished as the P and the Q Celts from a difference in equivalent words in their languages corresponding to those two consonants. The Welsh use "ap," for instance, to mean "son of," while the Gael uses "mac." A broader distinction exists in the fact that the earlier invaders, the Goidels,

⁻¹ (C. and T. Muellerus, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, Paris, 1841, vol. i., p. 2, No. 22.)

PRIMITIVE ART IN THE BRITISH ISLES

were in the Bronze Age of civilization, while their successors, the Brythons, were in the Iron Age.

The first three stages, then, of any British civilization concerned with art, even in its most elementary form, sprang from the Iberian aborigines in their late neolithic or early Bronze period, illustrated by Stonehenge; from the Goidelic Celts in their Bronze stage; and from the Brythonic Celts, in their age of Iron.



FIG. 5.—DOORWAY, MAGERA, IRELAND.

Art, in the Bronze Age, found an outlet in the beautiful forms of such utilitarian objects as did not by their very nature repel the æsthetic impulse. Swords, spears, shields, bracelets, helmets, brooches, neck ornaments, etc.,

were decorated by various combinations of lines and curves, sometimes engraved, sometimes beaten up from behind. Many objects so ornamented are so exquisite in proportion and in the rhythm of their lines that they may fairly be said to have carried their own system of decoration to a point beyond which it could not go. During the last twenty years we have seen the artistic principles which governed the Celtic metal-workers re-adopted by some of the most gifted of living artists, with all the resources of modern civilization at their command. But nothing they have done excels in beauty or artistic judgment the better things left by the earliest of our Celtic forefathers. As an example, the gold torque, so long disputed between the British Museum and the Museum at Dublin, may be named. It is, however, only one among a mass of objects in which similar motives are used with the finest judgment and skill. Provincial museums all over the United Kingdom possess fragments in which these simple elements of decoration are employed with extraordinary felicity.

Archæologists have expressed their surprise that so consummate an art could be so widespread, and exist so long, without developing into something higher, or at least more ambitious. The



FIG. 6.—GOLD TORQUE FROM LIMAVADY.
(Dublin Museum.)

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absence of any attempt to reproduce natural objects, or imitate the appearance of men and animals, has sometimes been held to prove that the early Celtic artist was only half awake, that he was waiting to be stirred to a fuller ambition by example from without. M. Reinach says "the decoration is invariably and exclusively linear, as



FIG. 7.—KILCRONEY, IRELAND.

if some religious law, some fear of maleficent sorcery, had forbidden the representation of men and animals."¹ It is impossible to say that this was not so. We know how great an effect such a taboo had on the not entirely dissimilar art of the Saracens, many centuries later. But a possibility suggested by the *differential quality* of Celtic art, from the earliest times down to this present moment, must also be taken into consideration. And that brings me to one of the ideas on which the views expressed in the following chapters will be found to depend.

The Celtic, or Gallic, note in art is form: not the imitation or idealization of external forms, but the form of the work of art itself.

The simplest constituent of form is line, and on that foundation the Celt works, making it the essential element of his conceptions. He alone, among European races, has developed the expressive value of line to the uttermost, sometimes even to the exclusion of all other vehicles for æsthetic emotion. In painting, a sense of line leads to the qualities we call design, composition, rhythm. In sculpture it is the foundation of all harmony, although, in the narrowest sense, it scarcely exists in a statue at all. In architecture as an art, its place is more important still, for there its absence cannot be so readily masked by the presence of other virtues. Now, in a race endowed with a propensity toward creation in line, we should not expect to find much interest in natural forms, as artistic material, until a comparatively late period of development. The simple aspects of line, and those combinations of their simple aspects which can be so very far from simple, would be exhausted before the Celtic artist would feel any inducement to go farther, and complicate his task by the introduction of realistic imitations of

¹ *Apollo*: English Edition, p. 11. Heinemann, 1907.

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external objects. The Celt, Gaul or Gael, felt, and feels to this day, comparatively little interest in the objective imitation of things outside himself. His blood was not in the veins of the reindeer hunters! Men, animals, vegetables, were treated by him as mere sources of suggestion for his linear patterns, until his skill became so advanced that he could combine objective truth with that subjective expression which was his real motive. It is, in short, by this sense of line and all its derivatives, that the Celtic spirit in art can be traced from its birth down to the present day, setting the architecture, sculpture, painting, even literature, of the Celts apart from those of other races: apart, even, from those of the Greeks, to whom the approach is nearest.

The remains of Celtic art during the Bronze Age, discovered in these islands, are of the same nature as the *débris* of early civilizations found elsewhere. They consist of carved stones and rocks, tomb furniture, *débris* from inhabited sites, hoards, and isolated objects lost by their owners. They are decorated in combinations of straight and curved lines, which have been grouped under various heads, such as the chevron, the spiral, the swastika, the loop, the winding band, and concentric circles.¹ A large number of the best examples have been found in Ireland, which country was at one time thought to be the birthplace of some of their most characteristic motives. This is now understood to be an ill-founded belief, for earlier examples of these supposed-to-be Irish forms have been discovered elsewhere. Ireland, however, can show the most important surviving specimens in not a few classes of Celtic Art; among them that of sculptured stones. The tumuli of County Meath, at New Grange, near Drogheda, and at Sliath na Calliaghe, near Oldcastle, contain the most remarkable specimens yet discovered. But it is not improbable that these structures are the outcome of a mingling of blood and ideas between the Bronze Age Celts and the neolithic Iberians whom they conquered.

The prevailing motives in the decoration of these tumuli are, at New Grange, the spiral, complicated by dots, diagonal lines, and



FIG. 8.—HIGH CROSS, MONASTERBOICE, IRELAND.

¹ See Romilly Allen, *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times* (Methuen, 1904).

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FIG. 9.—CELTIC SHIELD.
(British Museum.)

various combinations of the chevron ; at Old-castle, similar motives combined with star and wheel-shaped patterns.

The spiral, which does not occur in this country on the implements and portable objects of the Bronze Age, seems to have had its birth in Egypt, whence it travelled by way of North-Eastern Europe, through Scandinavia, to Scotland, North England, and Ireland. It is, however, such an obvious way of decorating a surface that too much stress must not be laid on any theory of its affiliation. It was a favorite motive with the Maoris, who can hardly have borrowed it either from Egypt, from Mycenæ, or from the ancient Celts.

The decorative motives of Celtic art in the Bronze Age may, then, be catalogued as follows : diagonal lines, leading to various combinations of the chevron ; punched dots ; the loop and its combinations (swastika) ; and the spiral.

The civilization of the Iron Age was probably brought into this country by the Brythonic Celts in the third century B.C. The objects on which our knowledge of its character depends may be classified similarly to the remains of the previous civilization. They consist of grave goods, as they have been called, remains found on village or town sites, hoards, and objects casually lost.

The burial customs of this late Celtic period differ from those of the Bronze Age ; they also show considerable change as the age progressed. Among the earliest tombs, probably, yet discovered are the mounds on the Yorkshire Wolds, near Arras. One of these, when opened, was found to contain a female skeleton, with a number of glass beads, two bracelets, gold and amber rings, and a pair of tweezers. In another was found the body of a man, lying on his back, with his chariot, the remains of two horses completely harnessed, and of two wild boars, beside him. A third barrow yielded the skeleton of a warrior, with parts of a shield, of a chariot, and of the furniture



FIG. 10.—CELTIC FIBULA.
(British Museum.)

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of a pair of horses, as well as the tusks of a wild boar. The wild boar is alluded to in many ways on the remains of this period. Canon Greenwell's Yorkshire excavations have also been prolific in illustrations of this age. In one barrow, at Arras, he found a female skeleton buried with two pigs, an iron mirror, and the remains of a chariot. But perhaps the most valuable discovery, from the point of view of art, has been that made in 1879, on the Cotswolds, some seven miles from Gloucester. During repairs to a road near Birdlip, three skeletons, two male and one female, were found in graves constructed of thin slabs of stone arranged coffin-wise. With the woman



FIG. 11.—BRONZE COLLAR
FROM WRAXALL.
(Bristol Museum.)

were found a bronze bowl, a silver brooch plated with gold, a bead necklace, a hollow brass armlet and key handle, a bronze knife handle with the head of a horned animal as ornament, and the beautiful bronze mirror here illustrated. An equally beautiful mirror, of exactly the same kind, has recently (September, 1908) been found during some excavations at Desborough, Northamptonshire. Similar though less important finds have taken place in Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, and, in the east, in Kent. But the number of tombs from the early Iron or Late-Celtic Age is small compared with those from the Bronze and Stone Ages, which seems to show that only a short period elapsed between the introduction of iron by the Brythonic Celts and the first appearance of the Romans in Britain.



FIG. 12.—HANDLE OF
CELTIC TANKARD.
(Mayer Museum,
Liverpool.)

An important series of discoveries was made in 1886, in the neighborhood of Aylesford, in Kent. Here many urns and other objects were dug up, which showed the connection between the art of Britain at the beginning of the Iron Age and that of the Continent, and proved the intercourse between this country and Southern Europe, in pre-Roman times, to have been closer than had previously been suspected.

From remains found on the sites of villages or towns, we know the late Celtic inhabitants to have been well versed in the arts of peace. Among the objects found have been sword

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FIG. 13.—MIRROR, FROM BIRDLIP,
GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

(Photo lent by Mr. Dugdale.)

sheaths, fibulae, saws, knives, quern-stones, spindle-whorls, weaving-combs, bill-hooks, pottery, and coins. The earliest British coinage belongs to the Iron Age, and dates from about 200-150 B.C. Its use is believed to have been confined to that part of England which lies south of the Tyne and east of the Severn.

It will be well to conclude this short summary of the nature of late Celtic art by saying a few words on the best specimens in each class.

The finest bronze shield yet discovered is one that came out of the Thames, at Battersea; it is now in the British Museum. The dagger, with bronze hilt and sheath, found in the river Witham, near Lincoln, is probably the best specimen of its class. As for helmets, which are rare, the British Museum has a fine specimen, rescued from the Thames, and another is at Abbotsford. The latter came from Torrs, Kirkcudbrightshire. Among the very numerous finds of horse furniture, four bridle-bits with elaborate ornamentation belong to the British, the Edinburgh, and the Dublin Museums.

Among personal ornaments, which play such an important part in our materials for the study of Celtic art, the most important are fibulae, torques or collars, and armlets. The number of such objects in our museums is very great, and, within their own clearly defined limits, they show an astonishing variety of form. The finest thing of the kind is the gold collar, already mentioned, in the Dublin Museum. In simple beauty and in the skill of its execution it could scarcely be excelled. Other fine collars, of somewhat different character, are the bronze one from Wraxall, in the Bristol Museum, and, a third, also of bronze, in the



FIG. 14.—CELTIC DISK.
(British Museum.)

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British Museum. This last was found in Lochar Moss, Dumfriesshire. A good specimen of the bronze armlets is one found in the neighborhood of Forres, now at Altyre. The fibulae are very numerous.

Objects of domestic use from the same period are often ornamented, but the ornament is of the same character as that already illustrated, and need not be referred to in detail.

There is, however, one form of Celtic art from this middle period which must be referred to here, namely that of enamelling. This was practised by the Celts of the Iron Age before the advent of the Romans, and carried to such a pitch of perfection that nothing quite equal to its products has yet been encountered on Continental Europe. The late Sir Augustus Franks gave the name of *Opus Britannicum* to the enamels of the British Celts, and believed them to be the first west-European enamels. The fragment reproduced in Chapter XII is thoroughly characteristic. To these early Celtic enamellers belongs the credit once given to the Irish Scribes of a later age, of having invented the famous pattern of the divergent spiral.

In all this activity the general characteristics never vary.



FIG. 16.—CROZIER.
(Dublin Museum.)



FIG. 15.—FOOT OF THE
ARDAGH CHALICE.
(Dublin Museum.)

From first to last Celtic art depended on line for its unit, on the nature of the material for its determinant, and on free invention for its expressive value. The Celt was not inquisitive. His desire was not for knowledge, but for creation. He wished to produce rather than to reproduce. In a word, he was synthetic rather than analytic. The possibility has often been suggested, or rather it inevitably suggests itself, that the character of the Iberian races, partly dispossessed and partly absorbed by the Celt, counted for something in the form taken by his art. In view, however, of the homogeneity of the Celtic idea wherever we find it, from its first mutterings

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to its last and most ambitious achievements, we cannot believe that the example of an inferior race had very much effect upon it.

While Celtic art was being lost in Great Britain under the stress of the Roman Conquest, it was holding the even tenor of its way in Ireland, and piling up those accumulations which, in their ruin, have left that island so much richer in the *débris* of early Celtic civilization than the rest of the world. So far as these belong to the pre-Christian Era, however, they do not call for any more detailed notice than has already been given. They show that the motives common in the neighboring island during the late Bronze and pre-Roman Iron Age held the field in Ireland too. There, however,

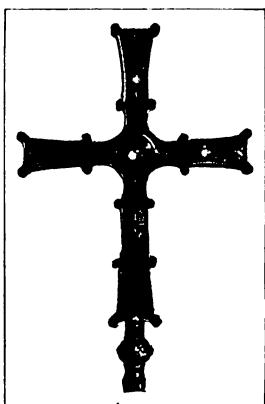


FIG. 17.—CROSS OF CONG.
(Dublin Museum.)

owing to the longer survival of the Celtic monopoly, they developed a boldness and self-confidence hardly equalled elsewhere. Of this boldness—not always leading to beauty—a Bronze Disk, British Museum (Fig. 14), and a crowd of objects in the Dublin Museum are examples.

Christianity was brought to these islands about the end of the fourth century or beginning of the fifth. It made its way from Western Gaul into Cornwall, Wales, and the South-Western corner of Scotland. From Wigtownshire it crossed into Ireland about 430 A.D. In Ireland it prospered so exceedingly that, before many generations had elapsed, that island was sending "return waves of Celtic Christianity"

to the West of Scotland, at Iona, and the East of England, at Lindisfarne. But the new religion endured for centuries before it began to create any form of art which could be called distinctively Christian. And in Ireland, when these forms came, they did not supersede Pagan ideals, they were grafted upon them. Hence we have a continuity in Irish decorative art down to the beginning of the thirteenth century which does not exist elsewhere to anything like the same extent.

The arts in which the Celtic Christians of Ireland excelled were stonecutting, metal-work, the writing and illumination of manuscripts, and architecture. The most important things left to us by the Irish stonecutters, or sculptors, are the so-called High Crosses, of which

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two at Monasterboice, two at Clonmacnoise, and one each at Durrow and Tuam, are the most important. The art of these crosses corresponds exactly, taking the difference of material into account, with that of the metal-workers. The motives are essentially Celtic, depending always on line and a devoted search into all its possibilities. Down to the very end the spirit of representation is never found except under the strictest control. Figure sculpture exists, of course, and in some instances, as on the Cross of Muirdach at Monasterboice, and on the Tuam cross, it is even fairly advanced. But it is always ornament, and the scenes are treated in such a way as to remain complementary to the purely decorative panels, and are not allowed to become extraneous and self-contained.

It is the same with works in metal: The early motives are gradually enriched



FIG. 19.—INTERLACED ORNAMENT
FROM THE BOOK OF DURROW.
(Trinity College, Dublin.)
(Photo by Lawrence.)

and added to by importations from without as well as by the developed ingenuity of the native artist. But down to the end, down to that Cross of Cong which is the supreme expression of the school, the essential character of Celtic ornament remains the same. The Celtic artist understands, or rather feels, that form and the play of line supply him with a language suited not only to his ideas but to the materials in which those ideas have to be expressed. When he uses figures he makes them the vehicle for linear patterns and is never tempted to let them be dramatic externally.

Again the same story has to be told when we come to the manuscripts. No Celtic manuscript with illuminations or ornaments of any kind can be ascribed to a date earlier than about 650 A.D. The book of Kells, the most famous of them all, is distinguished by the ambition of its



FIG. 18.—SHRINE OF ST. PATRICK'S
BELL.
(Dublin Museum.)

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designer as well as by his extraordinary skill in execution. But its motives form a *résumé* of all that Celtic art had accomplished down to that moment, rather than a step in advance. Natural objects are, indeed, introduced, but always in a form so conventionalized that they become linear motives like the rest. Another manuscript, the Book of Durrow, shows a more restrained taste than its more famous rival. A third, "The Book of Armagh," is still finer in a quiet way. It dates from about 840 A.D.



FIG. 20.—FIGURES ON THE SHRINE OF ST. MAGWE.

In architecture the Irish Celt showed the same qualities as in the other arts. His structures are by no means ambitious, but his designs never fail to have that appropriateness to material and purpose which betrays an essentially artistic race. The

earliest buildings of which remains exist are the stone forts, or duns, which are to be found in considerable numbers in the counties of Kerry, Clare, Galway, Mayo, Sligo, Donegal and Antrim. These are stone enclosures, in which the Cyclopean masonry is often of remarkable excellence. They contain chambers in their walls, as well as small domical, beehive, or boat-shaped huts in the space these walls enclose. The earliest Christian monasteries and oratories are but slight developments from these forts and huts. The most remarkable specimen of the former is the monastery on Skellig Michael, an isolated rock in the Atlantic, twelve miles off the coast of Kerry. The monastery occupies a plateau, some seven hundred feet above the sea, approached by many hundreds of steps cut in the rock. The plateau is about 180 feet long by about 100 feet wide. Upon it are the remains of three oratories, six bee-hive cells, two wells, five burial grounds, and many rude stone crosses.

The best isolated specimen of the early Irish oratory is that of Gallerus (Fig. 4). It stands, in strangely perfect preservation, on the north side of Dingle Bay, co. Kerry.

Between the sixth and eighth centuries building in un-dressed stones with dry joints was gradually superseded by the use of mortar and dressed stone, and this naturally brought in its train forms which

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may be fairly called architectural. During the period under discussion these forms were confined chiefly to doorways, although occasionally a window shows the beginnings of æsthetic ambition. Two characteristic doorways are figured here. The buildings in which these occur are almost invariably distinguished by good proportions, in the relations of parts to the whole.

Among the latest examples of the early period of Irish architecture must be included the first of those round towers which are such a characteristic feature, although they are by no means so exclusively Irish as we are apt to believe. The early specimens are built of un-dressed stones, roughly coursed, the joints filled in with small stones and coarse mortar. The only architectural leaven they show is that of general proportion. Any discussion of their purpose is outside the scope of this handbook; but it may be remarked, in passing, that those who see in them towers of refuge against the attacks of the Norse pirates seem to have established their case. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the remains of 118 of these towers still existed in Ireland. Outside Ireland 22 have been catalogued, of which the best known, perhaps, is that at Brechin, in Scotland (Fig. 21).

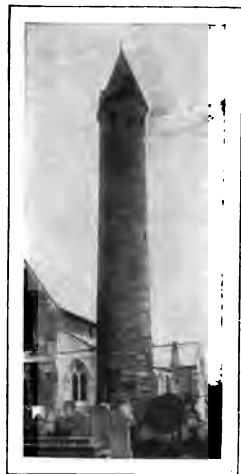


FIG. 21.—ROUND TOWER,
BRECHIN.

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FIG. 22.—CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, OXFORD.

CHAPTER II

ANGLO-SAXON ART

THE direct influence of the Roman invaders on the course of art in the British Isles was so evanescent, and its results so essentially outside any true racial movement, that we need here only note its existence and pass on. British art may be divided into three parts: Celtic, Saxon, and the art which sprang from the blending of these two races and their union with the new blood from Northern France. Celtic art has been already dealt with: the present chapter will be devoted to those Saxon forms which followed it in Britain and co-existed with its later glory in Ireland.

Our chief authorities for Saxon art are architectural remains. At one time it was believed that the Saxons built almost entirely in wood and, consequently, that stone witnesses to their ambition as builders were few and unimportant. Recent and more careful research has led to a somewhat drastic revision of that belief. Evidence of a Saxon origin has been discovered in many buildings which used to be classed as Romano-British and Norman, and sufficient material has now been gathered to enable a trustworthy opinion to be formed of the powers and peculiarities of the Saxon architect. If we took our courage in both hands and applied to Anglo-Saxon art the principles we assert in connection with Continental art, we might even venture

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to surmise that the special features of Norman Round Arched Gothic were, in many cases, the results of contact between romanesque forms from the South and East with the English civilization of the North-West.

The remains of Saxon architecture are almost entirely ecclesiastical. Their distribution shows little of that affiliation with the previous Roman organization which we find in Gaul. In Gaul the Christian dioceses correspond with the ancient Roman civitates, and the cathedral cities with the chief centres of each civitas. It was not so in Britain. There the distribution of the primitive churches was in great part disregarded by the Teutonic invaders, who often established their sees at unimportant centres of population, such as Crediton, Ramsbury, St. Germans, Wells, and Lichfield. "Whatever the Saxons did or did not do," says Professor Baldwin Brown, "to the Roman towns, they put them out of relation to the ecclesiastical system." This fact supplies an additional reason for accepting the foundation of the Saxon church as a new starting-point in tracing the history of British Art.

The earliest Teutonic invaders found Romano-British Christianity established in the country. They destroyed it over the whole of the territory they occupied, pushing it into the west and north. There it came into closer contact than before with the Celtic Christianity of Cornwall, Ireland, and Scotland, and was gradually solidified into a Christian system which finally had its centre at a point as far removed as possible from the shadow of Saxon invasion.

Meanwhile, toward the end of the sixth century, the Saxons themselves began to adopt Christianity, and to follow its customs. Their early churches, which have now to be studied chiefly in their foundations, show, as might have been expected, strong though passing evidence of being simply modifications of Roman buildings. At Silchester the foundations have been traced of a small Basilican structure which was probably a Christian church. Saxon building was, then, affected for a short time by Roman example as well as by Celtic tradition. It cannot, however, be denied that it soon developed a character of its own, which marked almost the whole of the period of nearly five centuries over which it extended.

The space at my command is insufficient for a detailed notice of the various stages of Saxon architecture. I must be content with a general description of its character, and a short account of its most important monuments.

When compared with the Celt, the Saxon was poor in æsthetic gifts and inclinations. He had little sense of the congruity into which

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the material, form, decoration, and use of an object should be brought. His sense of proportion, too, of the mathematical element in art, was rudimentary; and he was almost entirely devoid of that power to play happily with line which made the Celt an artist almost from the earliest moment to which we can trace his existence. Lastly, he was no engineer. He gives no sign of being alive to that play of forces which goes on in every built-up structure. He is without the Gallic instinct for concentrating power where it is required, on the one hand, and economizing material where it has nothing to do but enclose, on the other. His buildings are like boxes, and the relation between their shape, solidity, and purpose, is seldom happy.

The earliest Saxon structures were rough-combinations of ideas, partly their own, partly Romano-British. From this they gradually



FIG. 23.—BARTON-ON-HUMBER CHURCH.

passed to a style made up of British traditions, German traditions, and echoes from what was being done on the nearest part of the European Continent. They ended by building in a fashion which makes their latest structures difficult, in these days, to disentangle from the early works of their Norman conquerors. How much that similarity was due to the influence of Saxon

over Norman, and how much to that of Norman over Saxon, it is not so easy to decide as once was supposed. Professor Baldwin Brown, the latest and most thorough of writers on this subject, gives a list of about 173 English churches which "exhibit remains of Saxon building." The list would afford an opportunity for a good deal of discussion were we primarily concerned with archæology, but our business being with art, we need only notice those more important monuments which have a definite artistic character of their own.

It used to be asserted that Saxon stone architecture took much of its inspiration from a previous timber architecture which it superseded. A careful examination of the facts throws more than doubt upon such a theory. It may be allowed that the Saxons made great use of timber, which was plentiful in their time, for domestic purposes and even for buildings of a higher character. But it cannot be

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ignored that stone had been used for many centuries in these islands before the Saxon inroads, and had left its own traditions and examples. In a country commencing civilization, timber building may hold a monopoly for ages, and may hand on its forms to the next development. But where a stone architecture has once flourished, its tradition remains. The Saxon churches usually quoted as showing the influence of timber construction are not the earliest, but belong to quite a late period in the style. The towers of Earls Barton and Barnack, in Northamptonshire, and of Barton-on-Humber, in Lincolnshire, are examples. They seem obviously inspired by some form of half-timber construction, but behind them lies a long period of building activity in which no such relation can be traced. Curiously enough, the one relic we possess of timber building in Saxon times, does not belong to the only system which could have inspired the designs quoted in support of the theory that the Saxon builders took their ideas from timber construction. The wooden church at Greenstead, Essex, is not a frame, or half-timber building, but a



FIG. 24.—TOWER OF EARLS BARTON CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

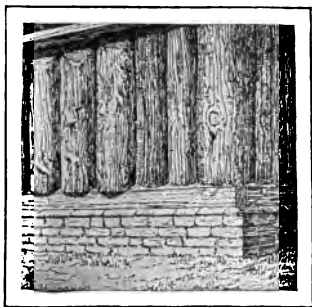


FIG. 25.—GREENSTEAD CHURCH, ESSEX.

“block-house.” It is constructed of the split trunks of oaks, set upright and close together on an oak sill.¹

The chronology of Saxon churches can be determined only roughly. Professor Baldwin Brown divides those which remain after a drastic process of elimination into five periods. For our purposes, however, two will be enough. The earlier was distinguished by modesty of plan, by monotony in the wall faces, by a tendency to the box-like in general construction, and by the use of Romano-British forms, or actual

débris from Romano-British structures, in the ornamental parts. During the later period a tendency to more elegance can be perceived.

¹ It appears pretty certain that this Greenstead church is identical with a timber chapel erected near “Aungre” (Chipping Ongar), for the reception of St. Edmund’s body during its transference from London to Bury St. Edmunds, in 1013 (Dugdale’s *Monasticon*, III, 139).

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The solids and the voids have a better relation to each other, and the proportions of height to width are more agreeable. On the other hand, the earlier buildings often show a Roman respect for solidity in the dangerous parts, which is not so well marked in the later.



FIG. 26.—FONT, ST. MARTIN'S, CANTERBURY.

One of the earliest churches to show Saxon characteristics is that of St. Pancras, at Canterbury, the foundations of which have recently been laid bare. So far as recovered, it consists of an oblong nave about forty-three feet by twenty-seven, two porches, at the west end and on the south, and two small fragments of wall suggesting that it ended to the east in a semi-circular apse.

Still more interesting are the remains of what Professor Brown calls "quite the most famous parish church in the whole of England," viz., that of St. Martin, at Canterbury. This church now consists of a very large, square ended, Saxon chancel, of a nave partly Saxon, and of a later western tower. Its technique, like that of St. Pancras, is largely Roman and much of its material Roman brick re-used. Among other early examples may be named the churches of Stone, near Faversham; of Corbridge, Northumberland; and of Escomb, Jarrow, and Monkwearmouth, Durham; the fragments at Lyminge, Rochester, and Reculver, Kent; the crypts of Ripon and Hexham, and the remarkable church of Brixworth, Northamptonshire.

Brixworth is one of the most imposing of our Saxon monuments, although it has been considerably mutilated in the course of time. Its side aisles, or possibly chapels, have disappeared, and many windows have been introduced. On the other hand, it gives evidence of developments during its own Saxon period



FIG. 27.—ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH, CANTERBURY.

which turn it into a more than usually valuable document. It was built in the last quarter of the seventh century by the Abbot of

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Peterborough, who used a great deal of Roman brick in its erection. It originally consisted of an apsidal sanctuary opening into a choir of thirty feet square, which, again, communicated by an arch of about twenty-eight feet span with a nave about fifty-six feet long by thirty broad. Westward of the nave was built, in later, perhaps, but still Saxon times, a square tower with a curious attachment on its western side, in a large circular stair-turret rising nearly to a level with the roof-ridge of the church.



FIG. 28.—BRIXWORTH CHURCH.



FIG. 29.—TOWER ARCH, MARKET OVERTON.

The monuments from the later period of Saxon architecture, which lasted from about 800 to the Norman Conquest, are so numerous that not even a list can be given here. They range, in time, from the churches of Avebury (Wilts), Bishopstone (Sussex), Bardsey (Yorks), and Lydd (Kent), to those of Bradford-on-Avon (Wilts), Barton-on-Humber (Lincolnshire), Earls Barton and Barnack (Northamptonshire), and the church of Branston (Lincolnshire), in which last Saxon and Norman features are combined with unusual intimacy.

The churches of Earls Barton, Barnack, and Barton-on-Humber afford the best remaining examples of that use of stone strips as surface decoration which has been quoted as proof that the forms taken by Saxon stone architecture were determined by experience with timber. This particular invention—a most unhappy one, and one that



FIG. 30.—SAXON CHURCH, BRADFORD-ON AVON.

never would have occurred to a Celtic people—may have been so inspired, but it has little to do with the general development of

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FIG. 31.—CHURCH IN DOVER CASTLE.

part of the walls into well-proportioned panels.

More interesting, even, than this Bradford church is the cathedral of Oxford and its connection with pre-Norman architecture. After his massacre of the Danes in 1002, Ethelred the Unready made a vow that he would rebuild the church of St. Frideswide, in Oxford. He kept his vow, and some archaeologists contend that a large part of his structure is extant to this day, in the existing cathedral of Christ Church. The substructures of the apse of the older church of St. Frideswide have been discovered within recent years, to the north of the present choir. Those who uphold the Saxon

Saxon building ; and it came near the end of its course.

A happier method of decorating a wall is that employed on the little church of Bradford-on-Avon. Here a shallow arcade of semicircular arches is carried, like an external quasi-triforium, round the whole of the church. It is supported by flat pilasters, without capitals or bases, which divide the lower



FIG. 32.—LITTLE SAXHAM CHURCH TOWER ARCH.



FIG. 33.—BRANSTON CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.

theory believe that Ethelred respected the previous shrine and built his church to the south of it. They contend that the arcade and walls of the present choir and certain analogous parts of the nave and transepts are substantially Saxon, modified, mutilated, and overlaid in later times with Norman and pointed Gothic. The question is too large and too

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technical for discussion here, but those who believe the cathedral of Christ Church to be identical in some of its parts with Ethelred's church of St. Frideswide seem to have put forward a plausible case.

Before leaving the subject of Saxon architecture it will be convenient to enumerate once more its broad characteristics, and to note those features on which some reliance may be placed as tests of a Saxon origin.

Saxon builders had little or no feeling for the structural significance of forms. They were satisfied to make their buildings stand. They did not feel the desirability of making them declare, by their forms, that they meant to stand. No race with an instinct for expressive building would have dabbled in such forms as "long and short work," or the vertical dominoes of Earls



FIG. 34.—CLAPHAM CHURCH,
BEDFORDSHIRE.



FIG. 35.—CHURCH OF ST. REGULUS,
ST. ANDREW'S.

Barton, Barnack, Barton-on-Humber, and other churches of the late period, or that infelicitous arrangement by which, in Saxon tower-windows, a stumpy turned column or baluster is set to hold up a long through-stone by its middle.

Saxon walls often look too thin for their work, and it is extremely rare to encounter any sign that their builders were alive to the varying strains they would have to resist. Buttresses very seldom occur, even at quoins.

The feeling for general proportions was poor. Buildings are too high and narrow for their superficial extent; tapering or pyramidal forms of any kind are rare. The proportion of voids to solids is seldom pleasing, and ornamental details are often unrelated,

æsthetically, both to each other and to their situation.

On the other hand, Saxon technique roughly as it began,



FIG. 36.—TOWER OF ST. BENET'S, CAMBRIDGE.
(Restoration by the Author.)

shows a stronger tendency toward refinement than that of the Normans. It betrays, perhaps, the first sign of that affectionate, though not always well directed, solicitude which was to be a permanent characteristic of our national art. As examples of this we may name the scanty remains of the Saxon Church at Westminster Abbey, the pillars of the Saxon crypt at Repton, and the upper stage of St. Benet's tower, Cambridge, which must have been a most happy design before it lost its "German helm."

A masterpiece of architecture may be compared to the human body. Just as the latter has its supporting skeleton, its vital organs conveniently disposed, and an outer skin which both protects

the whole and welds it into unity and beauty, so a perfect building is one in which three similar elements are happily allied. The Saxon architects failed to grasp the logical connection between these three elements, with the result that such charm as their structures possess is invariably due to the interest of the parts, never to the high organization of the whole.



FIG. 37.—REPTON: SAXON CRYPT.

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FIG. 38.—ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S THE GREAT, LONDON. (PARTLY RESTORED.)

CHAPTER III

ANGLO-NORMAN ARCHITECTURE, OR ROUND ARCHED GOTHIC

THE connection between early Norman architecture and that of the Saxons was probably less slight than is usually supposed. We can, in fact, recognize an adumbration of Norman forms in many buildings which unmistakably betray a Saxon origin, such as the church at Branston, Lincolnshire (Fig. 33), which would certainly have been classed as Norman but for the presence of Saxon technique in its execution. There can, however, be no doubt that both the Saxon natives and their Norman conquerors believed the new style to embody a fresh departure, to be a *novum genus compositionis*, to use the phrase of Matthew Paris. How far it was strictly Norman does not concern us here. It is enough for our purpose to know that it was a style elaborated by the race which sprang from the conquest of Neustria and its Celtic population by the Norse invaders. Its form may have been influenced, to some extent, by the example set by the late Saxon builders on the north side of the Channel, and its development was stimulated, no doubt, by the sudden increase of artistic activity which took place all over Christendom as soon as the dreaded year, 1000, had been safely passed.

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In the eleventh century, and for long after it, a narrow sea was no such barrier between one country and another as it is now. In the days when roads scarcely existed, and means of land locomotion were at once bad and confined to the rich, a sea, if not too wide, made possible an intercourse which could not have been carried on over any serious distance by land. Normandy was practically nearer to England than to Paris. The Normans had more in common with the English than with the French. Even to this day habits that we recognize as English have persisted in the Duchy, many parts of which are not to be distinguished, even by the keenest eye, from the southern counties of England. In tracing the origin of Norman Gothic, then, it is only fair to



FIG. 39.—ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL,
TOWER OF LONDON.

postulate a reciprocal action between the two countries, the late, refined Saxon builders having their influence over the younger, ruder, and more vigorous Normans, and *vice versa*.

Norman architecture ran its early course on almost parallel lines in Normandy and England. It was a comparatively new thing with the invaders themselves when they followed their Duke to this country. Lanfranc, Abbot of St. Stephen's, Caen, whom William appointed to the See of Canterbury in 1070, began the rebuilding of the English cathedral on lines which exactly followed those of the Norman Abbey, then recently commenced. Canterbury was finished first. Its still existing parts may be taken as the oldest survivals of the new style of any importance, but it had a predecessor in the church built by Edward the Confessor on the site at Westminster which has since become so famous. This church was apsidal. It had a triforium, which appears to have been vaulted, like the aisle below. It had a central and two western towers, the choir being in the crossing. It contained numerous

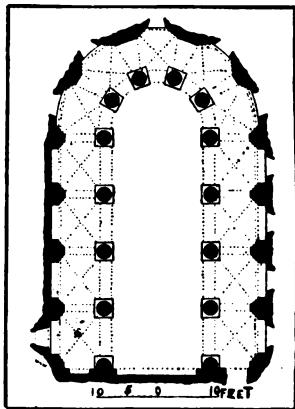


FIG. 40.—PLAN: ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL,
TOWER OF LONDON.

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chapels, in the triforium as well as on the floor of the church. Such evidence as we possess goes to prove that the ground covered by it coincided pretty well with that on which the present Abbey stands. An interesting feature of the scanty remains of the Confessor's buildings is the comparative delicacy of the workmanship, hinting at the junction of an old tradition—that of Saxon building—with the rude vigor of the new style.

A characteristic of Early Norman cathedral planning was the laying out of eastern ends in numerous apses—Bury St. Edmunds and Norwich had three, St. Alban's seven (Fig. 42). Few traces of this arrangement are now to be found above ground.

Norman Gothic breathed almost from the beginning a spirit which led naturally to the pointed style by which it was succeeded.

Its characteristics may be thus enumerated:—

1. Great thickness and weight of walls, to secure stability among the numerous thrusts of vaults and arches.

2. The employment of the semicircular and segmental arch.
3. Variation in the proportions of piers and columns according to



FIG. 41.—TOWER OF ST. ALBAN'S CATHEDRAL.

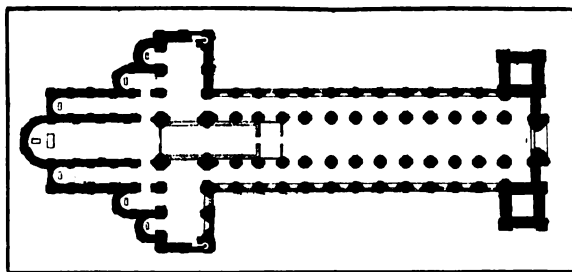


FIG. 42.—PLAN OF ST. ALBAN'S in 1090.

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FIG. 43.—NORWICH CATHEDRAL :
NAVE.

the load to be carried, and not to their height.

4. Subdivision of arches into two or more orders, and of piers to meet that subdivision.

5. The use of ornamental motives appropriate to subdivided arches and piers.

Among all these features the two which prepared the way for the forms of pointed architecture were the subdivision of piers and arches and the use of the semicircular or segmental arch. The one led naturally to that system of economizing material and accenting ossature which was carried in time to its logical conclusion by the

architects of the thirteenth century ; the other opened a path to the idea of cutting a vertical slice out of the centre of a semicircular arch when its span had to be narrowed, an expedient which would be more grateful to eyes accustomed to segmental forms than any modification of the curve itself.

The earliest complete example of very early Norman Gothic which still exists in this country is the Chapel of St. John, in the Tower of London (Figs. 39 and 40). Granted Norman principles, a better design could scarcely be produced. It is, of course, unreasonably solid and heavy, and the stilted arches in the apse are ugly, but the decoration of the capitals, the subdivision of the wall pilasters, and the combination of a plain wagon vault over the nave with the groining of the aisles, all show conscious skill on the part of the architect.

A more ambitious monument of early Norman is the Abbey—now cathedral—of St. Alban's (Figs. 41 and 42). Its erection was begun by the monk Paul,



FIG. 44.—NORWICH CATHEDRAL :
CHOIR.

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of St. Stephen's, Caen, soon after his relative, Lanfranc, had commenced operations at Canterbury. Paul was ambitious, and designed a church to cover nearly twice as much ground as the site with which Lanfranc was contented. St. Alban's was 465 feet long, 210 wide across the transept and, probably, 155 wide across the west front. It was built entirely of Roman brick and other materials from the neighboring ruins of Verulamium. It was covered, within and without, with white plaster. Before his death, Abbot Paul had caused the semi-dome of the apse behind the high altar to be enriched with painting, an example followed by his successors throughout the church. The inside roofs were flat timber ceilings, painted. For internal decorative effect, St. Alban's depended on painting and on the due subordination of its piers and arches, as, indeed, it was bound to do by the intractable nature of its materials.

At the same time as St. Alban's, a great Norman cathedral was being erected at York. It was begun between 1070 and 1080, but only the slightest indications of its plan now remain. Winchester Cathedral was begun somewhat later, probably in 1080, on a still vaster scale. It was 530 feet in extreme length and 225 in



FIG. 45.—DURHAM NAVE.



FIG. 46.—DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

width across the transepts. The transepts and the crypt under the east end are all that we can now see of this Norman church, although much of its fabric still exists inside the later Gothic (Fig. 48). Being carried out in stone, it was more thoroughly developed and more satisfactory altogether than the church at St. Alban's. Another cathedral dating from the same period is that of Ely, begun

by Abbot Symeon when he was not far short of a hundred years old. Here the plan, while similar to those of Winchester and

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St. Alban's in some parts, had a touch of originality in a splendid western transept, of which some of the features were immediately afterward reproduced in the abbey church of Bury St. Edmunds.



FIG. 47.—TEWKESBURY ABBEY.

Next, perhaps, after that of Ely, came the rebuilding of St. Paul's. This was begun in 1083, by Bishop Maurice, on the great scale which remained a distinction of the cathedral of London down to the fire of 1666. Its architecture resembled that of Winchester, but was more ornate. Its proportions, too, were loftier. About the same time as St. Paul's, the Norman cathedral of Rochester was begun by Bishop Gundulph, a great builder. He founded Rochester Castle, built the White Tower in the Tower of London, and one or two smaller buildings besides. In 1096 was begun what is, on the whole, the most complete monument of Norman architecture now remaining in the country. This is the cathedral of Norwich, commenced by Bishop Herbert de Losinga, who had purchased the see from William II for the sum of £1,900 (Figs. 43 and 44). The cathedral is made up of a very long nave of fourteen bays, a transept 192 feet long and an apsidal choir, or rather sanctuary. Among other foundations dating from this period of unexampled energy in building are the cathedrals of Worcester, Chichester, Gloucester, and Durham, and the abbeys and churches of Tewkesbury (Fig. 47), Waltham, Christchurch (Hants), and Bury St. Edmunds.

The early phase of Norman touches its apogee at Durham (Fig. 45). The design has a vitality we do not always find in the style. The nave is no monotonous repetition of one motive, as at St. Alban's, and, although in a less degree, at

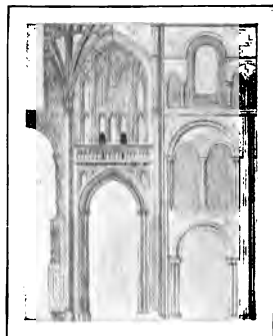


FIG. 48.—WINCHESTER, TRANSFORMATION OF NAVE.

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Norwich. It is divided into symmetrical sections, each comprising two bays, and supplying a happily proportioned constituent to the general scheme (Fig. 46). The Norman nave of Durham is a

book in well-balanced chapters; that of Norman St. Alban's, an unbroken, rather long-winded narrative. Externally, Durham suffers from the spaciousness of its triforium. This is lofty enough to embrace, under its roof, the buttresses which take the thrust of the nave

vault, and so to deprive the exterior of a valuable source of variety and shadow.¹ On the other hand, Durham has been less unhappy in its disasters than some other cathedrals. Even Wyatt's meagre rose window has a good effect, at a distance. And Durham is distinguished among Norman churches as being vaulted through-



FIG. 49.—ROCK OF CASHEL.

out, although, indeed, it may be said that the vaulting of the transepts was not originally intended.

It must be remembered that the century immediately following the Norman conquest was the great century of architectural ambition in England. The Norman clergy had no sooner settled into their share of the spoil, than they began to build. Their ideas grew so rapidly that, before a generation had



FIG. 50.—FOUNTAINS ABBEY, SOUTH TRANSEPT AND TOWER.

passed, they had covered the country with Norman Gothic, and were erecting cathedrals on a scale almost unknown in Europe.

¹ As originally built, the aisles had gabled roofs, which were less monotonous than the present arrangement. See Sir G. G. Scott's *Mediaeval Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 129.

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FIG. 51.—LITTLE SAXHAM CHURCH.

indications to be found in illuminated manuscripts, partly by reasoning from monumental buildings.

The English house of the Saxon and early Norman period was a lineal descendant of the Roman villa. In Italy the Roman house, outside Rome, consisted, roughly speaking, of an open atrium surrounded by small rooms in which sleeping, eating and cooking took place. In England the atrium became, by force of weather, the hall. This hall was for long the only large room in the building. It was originally used



FIG. 53.—DOORWAY OF CHAPTER-HOUSE, DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

They discounted our thirteenth century and the chances of our Early Pointed.

In France the great expansion took place later. It had to await the partial removal of the foreign incubus and the apparition of a great king in Philip Augustus, before it could gather way. The result was that it coincided with the finest moment of Gothic art, and the fullest advantage could be taken of the opportunities given.

The Domestic architecture of this Early Norman period has to be divined partly from the



FIG. 52.—CORMACK'S CHAPEL, CASHEL.

in common by the master and his family and all his retainers. Gradually subordinate chambers were added, and became more and more numerous and important. But there is no reason to believe that, during the Norman period, the conception of a house as a hall with a few special chambers attached was ever superseded. These halls were often of very noble proportions as well as of elegant architecture. But such specimens belong to a later date than we have yet reached. At first the hall had, as a rule, but one room of any

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size attached to it. This was the private room, with beds, of the master and his family, and was known as the "solar." Gradually other rooms and "hovels" [the latter usually without windows] were added. The kitchen was separate, when it existed at all, but cooking was often done in the open air. In short, the house developed slowly and steadily, from the single room for all purposes to the complex arrangements of a matured civilization, by a process similar to that known in biology as fissiparous generation.

Having now referred to the most characteristic productions of the Norman period in England, it may be well to give a résumé of its distinctive features.

Relative height was lower than in Saxon buildings. The narrow and high naves which were so common in Saxon churches, suggesting that the architect was afraid of a wide span for his roofs, are superseded by others of lower, shorter and wider proportions. Saxon walls, with their careful execution on vicious lines, are

succeeded by walls roughly carried out on sounder principles. Norman walls are very thick, with large joints and bad mortar. In monumental buildings, a core of rough stones, scarcely held together by an apology for mortar, was faced and supported by a comparatively thin skin of ashlar, or dressed stones. Things improved as time went on, but the Normans never became really good builders. If their cathedrals had been constructed

with the solidity of our modern public buildings, they would scarcely be showing a sign of age even at this day.



FIG. 54.—GLASTONBURY ABBEY, ST. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL.



FIG. 55.—LEUCHARS CHURCH, FIFE.

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The skeleton of a Norman church is but gently suggested. Buttresses are wide, but very shallow. Walls terminate above

in a parapet of slight projection, carried often by a corbel table reminiscent of a military machicolation. Windows, as a rule, are simple round-headed openings with little ornament (Figs. 39, 47, etc.). Wheel windows are often used, in gables. Walls are ornamented by blind arcades, sometimes of two orders, sometimes interlaced, uncomfortably, like the edges of a basket. Doorways are the chief centres of ornament. Orders here are often greatly multiplied and worked with as much ornament as they will bear (Figs. 52 and 53). Norman capitals show an almost unbroken evolution from a form which may be compared



FIG. 56.—NAVE, ELY CATHEDRAL.

to the Doric capital of Greece to the delicate, plant-suggested forms of early Pointed. Norman vaults, which are comparatively rare, are of all types from plain barrel, or wagon, to groined and ribbed, vaults (Fig. 39, 45). Churches often have their aisles vaulted and their naves covered with a wooden ceiling (Fig. 56). It is doubtful, however, whether any Norman roof of timber has survived to our time.

Throughout the first half of the twelfth century the Norman forms underwent a continual process of refinement, on the one hand, and enrichment on the other. Walls become thinner, joints closer and more carefully worked, columns less thick, carving more delicate and more undercut, buttresses more salient. Speaking generally, buildings become more enriched with shadow, and more inclined to confess their ossature. The ruling spirit changed from



FIG. 57.—CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL :
NAVE.

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being one interested in the refined execution and decoration of a whole conceived simply as an enclosure, into one curious about structure, articulation, development ; into one which saw something akin to the architecture of a tree in that of a great cathedral, and wished to give to each part a relation to that which immediately preceded it, not unlike the relation of leaf to twig, of twig to bough, of bough to trunk, and of trunk to root. That this relation was more strongly insisted upon south of the Channel than in England was due to the fact that Norseman and Celt was an alloy more favorable to a structural unity in art than that of Norseman and Anglo-Saxon. But even here it had its effect. The final traces of Saxon flatness and boxiness disappeared, and at last everything was ready for that apparition of the pointed arch and its consequences which was to mark the second half of the twelfth century.

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FIG. 58.—CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL : CRYPT.



FIG. 59.—LINCOLN CATHEDRAL, FROM THE SOUTH.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY ENGLISH, OR FIRST POINTED, GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE

A GREAT deal of inconclusive discussion has gone on over the origin of the pointed arch and the structural system to which it led. No very profound study of Romanesque and Norman buildings is required to show that problems frequently arose for which one obvious solution was to cut, in the mind,



FIG. 60.—CLOISTERS, FOUNTAINS ABBEY.

of a semicircular arch. The play of the diagonals of a groined vault also helped to draw attention to the pointed form. Used at first in special situations, to overcome incidental difficulties, and sometimes for mere decoration, the pointed arch soon began to proclaim its own flexibility and to invite the architect to a fuller exploration of its powers. carried the subordination of arches to the development reached in late Norman work, the

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additional facilities for getting rid of superfluous material and lightening a whole structure by clothing its skeleton as thinly as possible, afforded by the pointed form, were sure to lead rapidly to their logical conclusion in France, and as near to it in England as we English ever get.

The essential distinction which gradually established itself between pointed Gothic and other forms of architecture was its systematic reduction of the ratio of material employed to space enclosed. Its structural forms are a consequence of this process and of the necessity for using small units. The great stones of trabeated building were not to be had in Western Europe.

The earliest systematic users of the pointed arch in this country appear to have been the Cistercians. By them it was employed in its simplest and least decorative form, indeed; but with rare intelligence. It would be difficult to name any buildings in which the essential elements of any style of architecture are used with more simplicity and success than are those of First Pointed in the Cistercian abbeys. The "Cloisters," or cellarium, of Fountains Abbey (Fig. 60) may be given as an example. In the church at Fountains a further proof that Cistercian architects were curious about structural principles is afforded by the nave aisles. Here each bay is covered with its own transverse vault, carried upon arches springing from the main piers of the nave, on the one hand, and from corbels on the outer wall on the other. By this arrangement the more dangerous thrusts are minimized; but it does not lead to beauty.



FIG. 62.—CHOIR, WESTMINSTER ABBEY, LONDON.



FIG. 61.—EASTERN TRANSEPT, LINCOLN.

The written history of early pointed architecture has been disfigured by a somewhat absurd partisanship. We have had, on the one hand, English writers who have treated the Gothic style as essentially English, even going so far as to call it "the English Style"; and, on the other, French, English, and now American critics who have flown to the opposite

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extreme, and asserted that the only true Gothic is that of France, all others being its more or less unintelligent imitations. The English chauvinism was the result of pure ignorance, Gothic France having been scarcely studied at all when Rickman began to write.

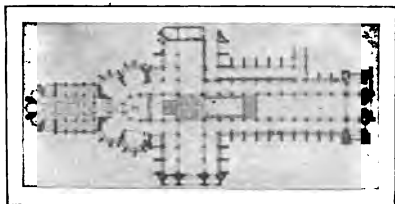


FIG. 63.—WESTMINSTER ABBEY: PLAN.

The opposite contention is more deliberately partisan, for we often find it supported by arbitrary definitions carefully adapted to French Gothic. Some justification might, possibly, have been given for the statement that only French Gothic is genuine if English examples had been echoes

of French, if, for instance, Westminster Abbey had stood in the same relation to some French church as the old Norman Cathedral of Canterbury did to St. Stephen's, Caen. But no such relation existed.

English Gothic and French were separate and divergent growths from one root, each pursuing its own ideals and developing its own vernacular, and soon reaching a point at which borrowing, the one from the other, was perforce restricted to general ideas. In an artistic sense, England and Northern France were scarcely two nations in Plantagenet times. They had much more in common, for instance, than the North of France had with the South. Their intercourse was intimate and frequent. Ideas could not be adopted in the one country without becoming known in the other. But in each these



FIG. 64.—WESTMINSTER ABBEY: NAVE.

ideas were used in obedience to the diversity of character ethnologically set up. No better instance of the biased criticism which

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has been directed against English Gothic could be given than the way in which Westminster Abbey has been treated. It is obviously eclectic in conception. Parts, but only parts, of the plan,¹ the proportions of height to width of the nave and aisles, and the treatment of the transept ends and east end, are more French than English. But there the foreign influence stops. The proportion of height to length, the minor proportions, the designs of arches and windows, the mouldings, the caps and abaci, the treatment of wall surfaces, are all in the English vernacular. It may, in fact, be compared to a novel conceived partly on French lines but written in English, which would certainly be an English novel. It is the work of some unknown English architect of genius, who, by the exercise of a conscious faculty for selection which was rare in the middle ages, obeyed the wish of Henry III, and achieved what is, perhaps, the most faultless design in the whole range of Gothic architecture, French or English.



FIG. 65.—LINCOLN CATHEDRAL, WEST FRONT.

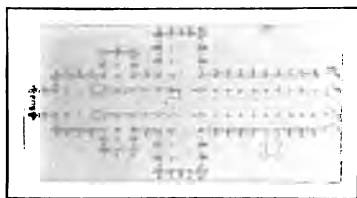


FIG. 66.—SALISBURY CATHEDRAL: PLAN.

But this is anticipating. The transition from round arched to pointed Gothic requires to be treated a little more at length before plunging into a discussion of the latter in its full development.

Norman building gave way to a new elegance and lightness, to an awakened sense of proportion between work to be done and effort put forth. Walls grew thinner, openings larger, "orders" more numerous, decorative features richer and more complex. The pointed arch appeared and soon began to talk to the more intelligent

New features and enlightened aims began to declare themselves very early in the twelfth century. The blind force of

¹ Scott seems to have forgotten the length of the transept and the shortness of the sanctuary when he said that the plan of the Abbey was "purely French."

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of those who used it, suggesting its own fitness for the solution of many problems, especially in the matter of vaults, which had puzzled the Norman builder.



FIG. 67.—SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

The best example, for our purpose, of the transition between round arched and pointed Gothic is afforded, perhaps, by Chichester Cathedral (Fig. 57), where the nave is Norman, while, in a single bay of the choir, the two forms are combined with extraordinary felicity. This choir, however, is by no means one of the earliest instances, for its approximate date is 1186; it was begun

immediately after the fire which consumed much of the Cathedral in that year. The transition from the round to the pointed basis of style was not continuous. Builders vacillated for a time between the two, just as they did or did not perceive the full significance of the new invention. With their never failing genius for construction and articulation, the French developed the invention more rapidly and more systematically than the English, but nevertheless the oldest structure in which the new style exists without any echo from the old is in England, and not in France.

Those writers on architecture who appear to take for their first principle that nothing is good unless it comes out of France, assert that the choir and eastern transept of Lincoln are French, in spite of the fact that all the details are English and that no similar work of the kind can be pointed to



FIG. 68.—SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

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south of the channel. The following opinion from Viollet-le-Duc, whose knowledge of Gothic detail was, and still remains, unrivalled in France, has been often quoted but may here be given once more, as the completest answer to those who would deprive England of the credit of Lincoln choir: "After the most careful examination I cannot find, in any part of the Cathedral of Lincoln, neither in the general design, nor in any part of the system of architecture adopted, nor in the details of ornament, any trace of the French school of the twelfth century (the Lay school, from 1170 to 1220), so plainly characteristic of the Cathedrals of Paris, Noyon, Senlis, Chartres, Sens, and even Rouen. . . .

The construction is English, the profiles of the mouldings are English, the ornaments are English, the execution of the work belongs to the English school of workmen of the beginning of the thirteenth century."

So convinced was Viollet of the English origin of Lincoln choir that he refused to accept the date given for its construction, thinking it impossible that our architects could so have anticipated those of his own nationality. But the evidence as to date seems beyond dispute. It may be allowed that the structural principles of Gothic architecture were grasped more firmly, and followed more strictly, by the French than by their northern contemporaries (as, indeed, structural principles, in every form of art, always have been), but that does not justify the conclusion that never, at any time or place, did they receive a lead from the rival centre. The disputed part of Lincoln Cathedral is conspicuous only by its date. In character it fits absolutely into the English



FIG. 70.—THE FIVE SISTERS, YORK.



FIG. 69.—YORK MINSTER, SOUTH TRANSEPT AND CENTRAL TOWER.

pattern. There is nothing about it to excite the feeling, with which Canterbury inspires us so strongly, that we are in the outskirts of

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the French Royal Domain. The eastern transept at Lincoln is a bold stride forward from anything which had previously been done in England, but the stride is toward the English ideal, and not toward the French.



FIG. 71.—WEST PORCH, ELY CATHEDRAL.

English Gothic and French were two dialects of one language, and the disciples of the one could no more express themselves in the other than a Berkshire peasant can talk Aberdeen. Whenever we have external proof that Frenchmen were employed on an English building, we find the work they did was French too. The choir of Canterbury, for instance, is French work down to its most intimate details.

If the choir of Lincoln had been created by men trained in the traditions of the *Île de France*, it would have been the obvious sister of those great French cathedrals which were its predecessors or contemporaries in date, and that no one has ventured to call it.

The whole question of the relation between French and English Gothic requires to be more frankly discussed than it has usually been hitherto. We have no room for such a discussion, but even such a sketch as this demands that some attempt should be made to point out where mistaken or at least contestable ideas have crept in.¹

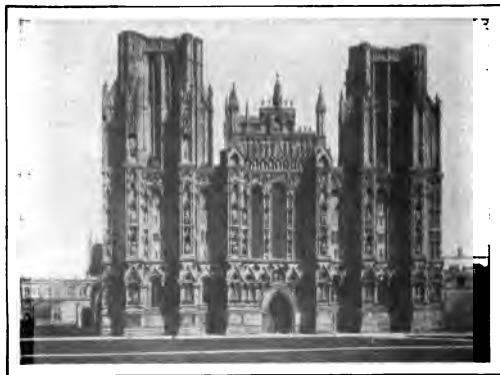


FIG. 72.—WELLS, WEST FRONT.

¹ See E. S. Prior's *Gothic Architecture in Great Britain* (Bell, 1900) for a just and temperate statement of the English case.

EARLY ENGLISH GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE

Speaking generally, what we have in England is a great architectural development commencing with the Norman invasion and the tremendous supply of new energy brought into the country by the conquerors. The first structures raised by these men were entirely similar to those they left behind in Normandy, which may, indeed, have owed some part of their character to intercourse with their Anglo-Saxon neighbors. As time went on, however, the *genius loci* began to exert itself, the Norman blood to mix with the Anglo-Saxon, and the Anglo-Saxon way of confronting æsthetic problems to modify the Norman. A slow divergence between continental and insular conceptions set in, until by the time that the round arch was giving way to the pointed, English plans, elevations, and details of execution



FIG. 73.—CHAPTER HOUSE, CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, OXFORD.



FIG. 74.—CHRIST CHURCH SPIRE, OXFORD.

could be distinguished at a glance from French. *This process never ceased.* From the day which saw the laying of the first stone of Lanfranc's Cathedral at Canterbury, to the completion of Henry VII's chapel at Westminster, those Gothic principles which were common to all north-western Europe gradually clothed themselves, in this country, in an English garment. In France, the structural skeleton was made the most of and developed to its logical conclusion, which often led to sublimity, but sometimes to ugliness and even absurdity. In England, the architect was over-ready to hide structure with an irrelevant skin, leading sometimes to beauty with character, sometimes to beauty without it, sometimes, alas! to the loss of both.

The choir and eastern transept of Lincoln Cathedral (not the presbytery or "angel choir") date from about 1190. They were begun in the episcopate of Bishop Hugh.

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It has not only been asserted that the architect was a Frenchman, but one French writer declares that he reproduced the design of a church commenced at Blois in 1138! Such a statement refutes itself; and, moreover, it has now been ascertained that the architect was English, and came of a family long settled in Lincolnshire. The rebuilding was continued systematically by the two immediate successors of Bishop Hugh, until the completion of the nave in or about 1240, by Bishop Grostete. On the whole Lincoln Cathedral may be regarded as the most important specimen of the English form of the first period of pointed Gothic. The nave is less effective than it might have been, chiefly through the too great width of the bays and the failure to bring the vaulting shafts down to the ground. The west front, also, imposing as it is, must be given up as a mistake. It has no congruity with the Cathedral behind it. But the great central tower (Fig. 93) has few rivals in England and none elsewhere.



FIG. 75.—PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL,
WEST FRONT.

In the quality most deliberately sought after by English architects, Lincoln, however, is excelled by Salisbury, which shows happier external proportions, perhaps, than any other Gothic Cathedral, either in England or abroad. Nowhere else do we find the same harmony of lines and masses, the same gradual development of beautiful forms from the ground up to the apex of the spire. The design is typically English, with its unimportant west front, its north porch, its



FIG. 76.—CHOIR AND CHAPTER HOUSE,
ELGIN CATHEDRAL.

long double transepts, its square east end, and the great spire rising from the crossing. Up to the tower-base the work is all of one period, between 1220 and 1250. The spire belongs to the fourteenth

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century. It is 20 feet lower than the *flèche* at Amiens, being only 404 feet high against the 424 of the other: "yet the Salisbury spire is one of the most imposing objects of which Gothic architecture can boast, the other an insignificant pinnacle that hardly suffices to relieve

the monotony of the roof on which it is placed" (Fergusson). An American writer puts it very well when she says: "No better church than Salisbury could be fancied as a base for one of the greatest spires in the world. Its successive portions so build themselves up toward the centre that we feel it would be incomplete did a less imposing pinnacle surmount it" (Mrs. Van Rensselaer). But Salisbury was begun at least 20



FIG. 77.—CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN.

years later than the early pointed work at Lincoln.

Although Lincoln and Salisbury are its two great full-dress examples, our First Pointed Style is to be seen, perhaps, with a more intimate charm in many works, and parts of works, of a less ambitious kind. Lack of ambition, perhaps, cannot be predicated of the north transept of York, with its famous row of lancets; for nothing more imposing than these Five Sisters, as they rise far off, like majestic ghosts, before a visitor entering by the south door, is to be found in the whole range of Gothic architecture. Between the design of this transept end, and the chapel of the Nine Altars at the not very distant Fountains, there is much in common. They were built at about the same time (1205–1245), as also was the more famous, although not, I think, more beautiful, Nine Altars at Durham. Still more exquisite, perhaps, was the now ruined East



FIG. 78.—ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN.

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end of Tynemouth Abbey, with its graceful lancets, and a vault in which ingenuity and art are happily combined. The South-Western Porch of St. Alban's still exists in a drawing made for Sir G. Gilbert Scott (*Mediaeval Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 167) to show what we have lost through the lack of worldly wisdom in Abbot John de Cella and the energetic business habits of Lord Grimthorpe!

Finest, perhaps, of all these *parerga* of the Early English Style is the great Western Porch of Ely Cathedral (Fig. 71). It is almost too important to be called a Porch, for it has two stories, the upper



FIG. 79.—ST. DOLOUGH'S CHURCH,
CO. DUBLIN.

one containing a room as large as a small church. The Porch itself, between an outer and inner doorway, measures about 40 feet by 30. Both doorways are beautifully proportioned and exquisite in detail, as are the four ranges of decorative arcading and the angle pinnacles by which the exterior is enriched. Another beautiful, though less elaborate, porch of about the same date is that which forms the north entrance to the contemporary cathedral of Wells.

Wells, perhaps, is more trying to one's feelings than any other English cathedral. It has narrowly escaped being the most beautiful of them all. Even as it is, few things can bring more delight to the lover of architecture than a pilgrimage to this small cathedral, hidden away, with its dependencies, in a fold of the Mendips. But three blots are upon it. The nave design is one of the least happy ever conceived by a Gothic architect; the engineer's device by which the central tower is balked of its wish to fall is hideous and destructive, while the *café au lait* color of the Douling stone fails to charm. Add to all these, a modern disfigurement in the foisting of a series of what have been called gigantic slate pencils into the West Front, and it will be seen that Wells has its disappointing features. The West Front (Fig. 72) has been extravagantly praised and unreasonably abused. As a design on its own account it is one of the best left us by the thirteenth century, the towers being

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especially fine. Its faults are a certain crowding together of the central parts, and the weakening of the buttresses by cutting into their angles to insert *quatrefoil* niches for statues. Freeman falls foul of it as a West Front, calling it a sham. It is difficult to see why. So far from being a sham it is one of the comparatively few west fronts, either in England or elsewhere, which tell the literal truth! But then it must be read with candor and without prejudice. What, in fact, does it say? The towers are sitting securely on terra firma, not bestriding an aisle, and they say so. The central division confesses itself the finish to the nave behind; the compartments between this central division and the towers obviously close the aisles; the three doorways are clearly meant to give access to human beings, not to giants. The whole conception is at once beautiful and logical, much more logical than Notre Dame, or the cathedrals of Rheims and Amiens. The real fault is one shared with those French examples, or at least with the two latter: its richness is too strongly contrasted with the comparative sobriety of the church to which it acts as preface.

As an *ensemble*, the Cathedral of Wells with its dependencies is unrivalled, being even more complete than Durham. The little town of ecclesiastical buildings includes the great church itself, with its Chapter House, cloisters, and library, the Bishop's Palace, with its wall, moat, and gatehouse, the Deanery, Archdeaconry, and Vicar's Close with its own hall, chapel and library, all lying round a green and timbered close into which we still make our way through beautiful and ancient gates.

According to tradition, a very large number of English

castles and early domestic buildings date from the troubled reign of John (1199-1216), overshadowed as it was by its Papal interdict. St. Briavel's Castle, Monmouthshire, the residence of one of the Lords



FIG. 80.—CLOISTER, KILCONNEL ABBEY, IRELAND.



FIG. 81.—GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.

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of the Welsh Marches, belongs to this period. Its remains are pure Early English. The Priory of Haverfordwest, with its fine church, was founded in 1200. The rebuilding of the choir of Worcester, after a fire, was begun in 1202. The Abbey of Beaulieu, Hampshire, was founded by John in 1204. The Abbey of Halesowen, Shropshire, founded by John, was begun about 1215.



FIG. 82.—CHAPEL OF THE NINE ALTARS, FOUNTAINS ABBEY.

With the accession of Henry III, in 1216, came a great revival. The Interdict by which the faithful had been oppressed in the previous reign was removed, and the building of cathedrals and other ecclesiastical monuments went on as merrily as in the early days of the Norman supremacy. The king himself, though feeble enough as a king, took a more personal interest in the work of his architects than any previous monarch had done since the Norman Conquest. The charm and dignity of the greatest architectural monument of his reign is known to be due, in great part, to his own action. For Westminster Abbey would



FIG. 83.—BEVERLEY MINSTER.

never have been exactly as we see it had he not insisted on his own views as to its style and scope. The chief relic from the

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early part of his reign is Salisbury Cathedral, but the years which saw its erection also witnessed the building of the cathedral at Wells (1225-1240), the western transept of York with the famous Five Sisters (1227-1260), the choir of Southwell Minster (1233), the Abbey at Netley, Hants (1239); the Chapel of the Nine Altars, and the vault of the nave at Durham (1242); Elgin Cathedral (1224); the early-English parts of Beverley Minster (Fig. 83); and Glasgow Cathedral (1240-1270). With the building of the choir, transepts, and Chapter House of Westminster Abbey (1245-1270), the Presbytery of Lincoln (1256-1280), and St. Mary's Abbey, York (1270-1290), the First Pointed, or Early English, begins to glide into the Second Pointed, or Decorated, manner.

For Bibliography, see Bibliography to Chapter VI.



FIG. 84.—CHAPTER HOUSE,
SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

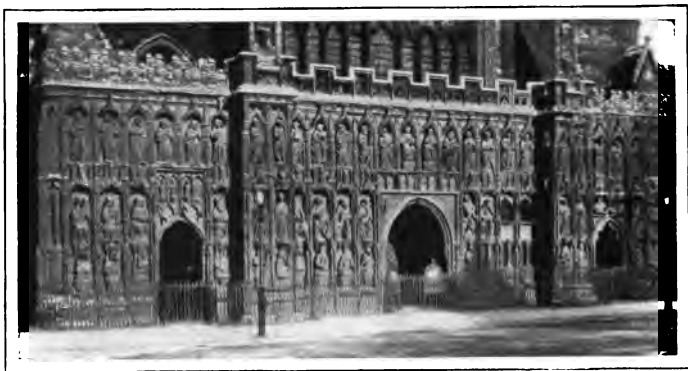


FIG. 85.—EXETER CATHEDRAL, LOWER PART OF WEST FRONT.

CHAPTER V

DECORATED, OR SECOND-POINTED, GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE



FIG. 86.—CHAPTER HOUSE, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

THERE is, of course, no line of demarcation between the first and second period of English pointed architecture. The one develops imperceptibly into the other, and it is only by looking backward or forward, in sharp perspective, that a change in character can be described. The most important development is in windows. Toward the end of the Early English period, lancets had been grouped into pairs, under a single hood moulding. The tympanum thus established had been pierced, producing what is known as plate tracery. The next step was gradually to reduce the strips of stone

left between these openings to the slightest scantling consistent with safety and a safe appearance, producing what is known as

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bar-tracery. Another change was the introduction of more freedom in the general design of windows. These were sometimes square headed, and of various proportions of height to width. As time went on the geometrical forms to which bar-tracery was at first restricted were changed for more flowing lines, approximating sometimes to the later *flamboyant* of France. Purely ornamental details become richer. Vaults become more complicated, additional ribs being introduced, and finally the *lierne* vault, with its wandering tracery of ribs, makes its appearance. Apart from these more or less organic changes, the Decorated period shows a general development of all ornamental motives, until the unsurpassed

richness of such conceptions as the nave and west front of Exeter Cathedral, St. Stephen's Chapel, at Westminster, and the Lady Chapel, at Ely, is reached. With the full development



FIG. 87.—ST. ETHELBERT'S GATE, NORWICH.



FIG. 88.—CRYPT, GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.

of the second-pointed style, Gothic architecture in England reached its apogee. Structural and decorative forms came into a fuller and happier relation to each other than they had ever done before, and motives were perfected which would have led to a complete fusion between æsthetic and scientific requirements had English architects united the French sense of logic to their other good qualities.

Each of the three phases into which



FIG. 89.—DOORWAY, CHAPTER HOUSE, ROCHESTER.

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our Pointed architecture has been divided has its peculiar fitness. The Early English period, especially in its later developments when large



FIG. 90.—LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL, CHOIR.

windows with geometrical tracery were employed, was better adapted than either of its successors to take charge of a great structure as a whole. The Decorated phase lent itself, as its title suggests, to the elaboration of what I may call architectural jewelry—"purple patches," some purists might call them!—enriched vaults, doorways, windows, tombs, and other matters on which decoration might be lavished without impropriety. As for Perpendicular, it found a task thoroughly suited to it in the provision of those comparatively small, but gorgeous, interiors which form its chief glory. For Royal chapels nothing better has ever been devised.

Among the larger achievements of the Second-Pointed, or Decorated, style, the nave of York and the nave and choir of Exeter are perhaps the most important. The proportions of the former are not, however, quite happy, its



FIG. 91.—ANGEL TOWER, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

width being too great for the other elements in the design. Exeter, on the other hand, produces an excellent effect, although, mathematically, its ratio of width to height differs but little from that of York. A peculiarity of Exeter is the large share usurped by the vault in the total effect. A still more complete illustration of the style is afforded by Lichfield Cathedral, which is almost entirely Second Pointed. From the logical point of view, the design of its beautiful nave and choir is scarcely equalled in England. A few feet more of height would have made it perfect.

The central octagon at Ely belongs

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FIG. 92.—TOMB OF EDWARD II,
GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

Ely Place, Holborn, the Lady Chapel in Ely Cathedral, and St. Stephen's Chapel, at Westminster, show the Decorated style in its application to buildings smaller than cathedrals. The most refined in its beauty, of these four chapels, is St. Etheldreda's, which might almost be referred to the Transition from First Pointed. The two great windows, East and West, show the latest phase of geometrical tracery at its very best, while the side windows, with their connecting wall arcades, or rather canopies, are scarcely less beautiful. The Chapel of Merton College has much in common with St. Etheldreda's, which, however, it greatly excels in size. The Lady Chapel at Ely has some of the most exquisite detail ever carried out by Gothic carvers, but its proportions

to this period, and affords a curious example of what seems at first a very happy thought turning out a disappointment. The weak point in the usual scheme of a cruciform Gothic church is the crossing, with the tall, well-like space it involves. To cut off its corners and turn this square into an octagon, lighted from four points, must have seemed an ideal solution to the architect who hit upon it. But in effect it is not so. The resulting proportion between octagon, on the one hand, and nave, choir, and aisles, on the other, is not quite agreeable, and on the whole it is not surprising that, for six centuries, no one repeated Alan of Walsingham's invention.

The Chapels of Merton College, Oxford, and of St. Etheldreda, in



FIG. 93.—CENTRAL TOWER, LINCOLN
CATHEDRAL.

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FIG. 94.—WELLS CATHEDRAL AND CHAPTER HOUSE, FROM THE NORTH EAST.

are too wide and low. With a few feet less width and more height, it would have been a gem. St. Stephen's, Westminster, so far as we may judge from the illustrations in which alone it exists, was one of the most perfect works of the fourteenth century. It united a richness equal to that of the richest Perpendicular to

beauty of proportion, and its loss is greatly to be deplored.

But, perhaps, the most perfect objects created by the Gothic architects of this, or of any other, period, were the polygonal chapter houses which glorify so many English cathedrals. These ecclesiastical halls had existed in England from very early in the Norman activity. At first they were rectangular chambers, from 25 to 35 feet wide and 40 to 60 feet long. In 1133 a chapter house was begun at Durham, with one apsidal end. The next change was at Worcester, where a circular, vaulted



FIG. 95.—ST. ETHELDREDA'S CHAPEL, ELY PLACE, HOLBORN.



FIG. 96.—MERTON COLLEGE CHAPEL, OXFORD.

chamber was built with a central support. This appears to have been immediately accepted as the definite form, the only further advance being the suppression of the central column, which was achieved at York in the last chapter house built in Gothic times. The principles of Gothic construction were never more happily applied than in these adjuncts to

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FIG. 97.—LADY CHAPEL, ELY.

portions are fine, its windows



FIG. 98.—CHAPTER HOUSE, WELLS.

an English capitol church. They are the *réplique* to the clearstories of France, with the additional merit of being as indispensable as they are beautiful. The two earliest which belong to the transition period, Salisbury and Westminster,¹ are practically identical. Their window tracery is of the latest geometrical stamp. The later chapter house at Wells, though less perfect in its proportions and less scientific in structural expression, is more "felt," with human touches which may be surplusage, but are decidedly agreeable. York just falls short of perfection. Its general promagnificent. But the cone in which the vault culminates is not a happy device, while the richness of the stall canopies is affected for the worse by their plain gables. Like other buildings of the same



FIG. 99.—WALTHAM CROSS: RESTORATION.

class, it has its charm diminished by the mistaken treatment of

¹ The Chapter House of Westminster was the Parliament House of the kingdom from shortly after its erection until the Reformation, when the Commons migrated to St. Stephen's Chapel. The Chapter House then became the storeroom of the national archives, which it remained until its restoration by Sir G. G. Scott.

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the one un-windowed bay. Had the device of opening this bay and filling the tracery, which is identical with that of the windows, with shadow instead of with solid wall, been adopted, all these polygonal chapter houses would have been greatly improved. It would have lessened the sense of confinement, introduced just the right touch of variety, and obviated the use of expedients which are in no single instance happy.



FIG. 100.—CHAPTER HOUSE, YORK MINSTER.

show their full beauty. The Martyr's Memorial, at Oxford, by Sir Gilbert Scott; Charing

The Eleanor Crosses (1291–1295) belong to the Decorated period, but none are now in a condition to

Cross, in the forecourt of the South Eastern Railway Station, by E. M. Barry; and the restoration of Waltham Cross itself, bad as it is, give some idea of their general aspect. The tombs of Edward II, in Gloucester Cathedral,



FIG. 102.—CHOIR, CARLISLE CATHEDRAL.

of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, with its enamelled decoration, in Westminster Abbey, and the Percy Shrine, in Beverley Minster, are all sumptuous and well preserved examples of the sepulchral work of the time. The Percy tomb is particularly magnificent, and utters the last word of the exuberant decorative carver. The superb tomb of Edward III, at Westminster, belongs



FIG. 101.—PERCY SHRINE, BEVERLEY MINSTER.

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to the first years of Third rather than to Second Pointed.

Many other proofs of the peculiar suitability of the Decorated phase for the enrichment of passages in the greater designs of the mediæval architects might be quoted, such as porches and doorways, of which those of St. Mary's, Beverley, and the Chapter House at Rochester (Fig. 89), are beautiful examples; rood-screens and retables, like those of Beverley Minster and Durham Cathedral; windows, the finest, perhaps, being the great east window of Carlisle Cathedral (Fig. 102); and spires, such as those of Grantham, Newark, and Bloxham Church, Oxfordshire.



FIG. 103.—LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL, WEST FRONT.

The Bloxham tower and spire are among the most perfectly balanced designs carried out in the style.

Other important monuments of the Earlier Decorated period, in their approximately chronological order, are: St. Ethelbert's Gateway, Norwich (1273-1278), the choir and transept of Exeter Cathedral (1279-1292), the hall of the Bishop's palace, Wells (1280-1292), Dorchester Abbey, Oxfordshire (1280-1300), the east end of Carlisle Cathedral (1292-1340), the south porch of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol (1292), the tomb of Archbishop Peckham, at Canterbury (1292), the cloisters and part of south transept with rose window, at Lincoln (1296-1306), and the central tower of Wells



FIG. 104.—CHAPTER HOUSE, YORK MINSTER.

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(1320-1337). Of the later period, parts of Melrose Abbey (1327-1390), the spire of Salisbury Cathedral (1331), the great east window of York Minster (1338), the Hall at Penshurst (1341), the destroyed St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster (1350-1365), parts of Windsor Castle (1360-1375), with its crypt, and the choir of Selby Abbey (1375), are, or once were, among the best examples. The great east window of York affords the chief example of an arrangement in the glass walls of Gothic cathedrals, which might, with advantage, have been carried farther than it was. For half its height the tracery is double, the inner and outer skins being connected and mutually stiffened by horizontal cross-pieces. Such a contrivance not only increases the actual strength, it has æsthetic value also, and if skilfully used would remove that appearance of weakness which is, for instance, a defect in such beautiful things as the soaring clearstories of France. At York it has the additional and not unimportant advantage of allowing the triforium passage to be carried across the window.

For Bibliography, see Bibliography to Chapter VI.



FIG. 105.—PENSURST PLACE, KENT.



FIG. 106.—ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR: PARTLY A RESTORATION.

CHAPTER VI

PERPENDICULAR, OR THIRD POINTED, GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE



FIG. 107.—TOMB OF EDWARD III,
WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

THE Third Pointed, or Perpendicular, variety of English Gothic is easily distinguished. It first declared itself by the somewhat timid intrusion of vertical lines among the curves of decorated tracery. These vertical lines gradually increased in number and assertiveness, until they became the obvious characteristic of an age. Other features are the nearly universal use of square hood-mouldings over doorways, the four-centred arch, the fining down of mouldings until they become little more than reeds, the stiling of the bases of columns and shafts, and the almost total abandonment of foliage motives in the carving of capitals, corbels, etc.



FIG. 108.—WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL, NAVE.

terior, which shall overlie the inner structure and withdraw it from our knowledge. The form of continental art to which it may most fairly be compared is the Belgian Gothic of the fifteenth century, which is, however, more akin to second pointed in detail. The spirit of Perpendicular

The Perpendicular style is essentially English. It embodies a complete breaking away from continental traditions and answers to predilections which have been characteristic of English art ever since it began to have a character of its own at all. Perpendicular does not produce its effect by confessing, or rather declaring, its own inner constitution, and showing how well that is adapted to the work in hand, as does the best French work of the thirteenth century. It aims at a rich and picturesque ex-

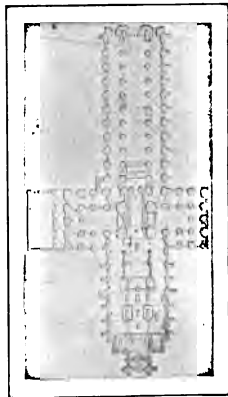


FIG. 109.—WINCHESTER: PLAN.



FIG. 110.—DIVINITY SCHOOL, OXFORD.

was antagonistic to plain surfaces. It particularly disliked the spandrels left by the pointed arch when it cut through a wall, and got rid of them partly by flattening the arch and so diminishing their extent, partly by filling them with elaborate panelling. It next attacked the vault, and by successive devices transformed the pyramidal severes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries into those inverted cones covered with

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stone lace, which make up what is known as fan vaulting. And here it may incidentally be remarked that the attitude of the



FIG. 111.—KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE.



FIG. 112.—HENRY VII'S CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER (EXTERIOR).



FIG. 113.—HENRY VII'S CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER (INTERIOR).

French and English architects toward vaults is, perhaps, more characteristic than anything else they did. The French architect was so impressed by the fitness of the vault for its immediate

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FIG. 114.—MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD:
CLOISTER QUAD.

the architecture below. The most daring French vaults, such as that of Amiens, look mean, their great height notwithstanding, beside a comparatively modest performance like the vault of Exeter, to say nothing of such a miracle in stone as the vault of King's College Chapel, at Cambridge (Fig. 120).

Important examples of the Perpendicular period abound, although no building of the first magnitude was erected wholly in the style. Among the earlier specimens, between 1377, the year of the accession of Richard II, and 1422, when Henry VI came to the throne, the most important are (in chronological

purpose that he confined himself to its structural development, carrying that to completion and there staying his hand. His English rival was less thorough in his appreciation of the vault as an engineering contrivance, but, on the other hand, he made more use of it as an æsthetic climax to



FIG. 115.—THE BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL,
WARWICK.



FIG. 116.—CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

order), the tomb of Edward III (1377), in Westminster Abbey, the nave and western transepts of Canterbury Cathedral (1378-1411), the ruined Chapter House of Howden, Yorks (1380-1400); New College, Oxford (1380-1390); the Church of St. Mary's, Warwick (1380-1390); the Cloisters of Gloucester Cathedral (1381-1412) (the

PERPENDICULAR GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE



FIG. 117.—MAGDALEN COLLEGE CHAPEL, OXFORD.



FIG. 118.—NEW COLLEGE CHAPEL, OXFORD (RESTORATION).

earliest fine example of fan vaulting); Thornton Abbey, Lincolnshire (1382-1390); the tombs of Richard II and his queen, Anne, in Westminster Abbey (1394), erected by Richard himself on Anne's death; the tower of Howden Church (1405); the nave of Winchester Cathedral (1394-1410); parts of Canterbury Cathedral (1410-1430); the upper part of the walls and the great timber roof of Westminster Hall (1400); and the great east window of York Minster (1405-1408).

Between the accession of Henry VI in 1422 and the death of Henry VII in 1509, and even for the first thirty years of the reign of Henry VIII, the Perpendicular style persisted without showing many



FIG. 119.—ALL SOULS' CHAPEL, OXFORD (RESTORATION).

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FIG. 120.—KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE.

Mary's Church choir, Oxford (1443–1450); Sherborne Abbey Church, Dorsetshire (1445–1450); The Divinity School, Oxford (1445–1455); Bishop Beckington's buildings at Wells (1450–1465); the Central Tower of Gloucester Cathedral (1454–



FIG. 122.—MERTON COLLEGE CHAPEL, OXFORD.

signs of the coming transformation. The chief buildings wholly or partly erected during this century and more are: the transepts and tower of Merton College Chapel (1424); the Cloisters at Norwich (1430); South Wingfield Manor House, Derbyshire (1433–1455); Tattershall Castle, Lincolnshire (1433–1455); Fotheringay Church, Northants (1440); part of St. John's College, Oxford (1437); the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick (1440); King's College Chapel, Cambridge (1440); St.

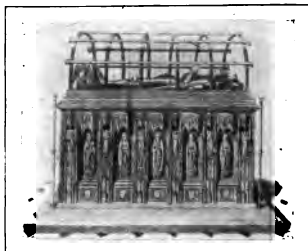


FIG. 121.—TOMB OF THE EARL OF WARWICK, WARWICK.

1460); the North-western Tower of Croyland Abbey (1470); Crosby Hall, London (1470); the Choir Screen in York Minster (1475?); Magdalen College, Oxford (1478–1492); the Reredos, St. Alban's Cathedral (1480?); and St. George's Chapel, Windsor (1481–1508). For the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, we may add to this list: the nave and aisles of St. Mary's Church, Oxford (1488); the central, or Angel, tower of Canterbury Cathedral (1490–1525); the tower of Magdalen College, Oxford (1492–1505); Bath Abbey Church (1500–1540); Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster

PERPENDICULAR GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE

(1503–1520); the nave of Melrose Abbey (1505); the Vault of St. George's, Windsor, and of King's College Chapel, Cambridge (1508–1515); Thornbury Castle, Gloucestershire (1510–1522);



FIG. 123.—SOUTH PORCH,
GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.



FIG. 124.—WALLINGFORD SCREEN,
ST. ALBAN'S.

parts of Brasenose and Corpus Christi Colleges, Oxford (1512–1517); Layer Marney Hall, Essex (about 1520); Compton Wynyates, Warwickshire (about 1520); and the Hall of Christ Church, Oxford (1524–1529), and much of Hampton Court.

The finest, perhaps, of the earlier examples of developed Perpendicular is the nave of Winchester Cathedral (1390–1410). The transformation of the old Norman nave into the present one has been often illustrated in books on architecture (Fig. 108). The proportions of the three original Norman stories do not account for what is undoubtedly the chief fault of the Perpendicular design, the too great height of the main arches and the abolition of the triforium. The interior of King's College Chapel, Cambridge (Fig. 120), may be fairly compared to a cathedral



FIG. 125.—ST. FRIDESWIDE'S SHRINE,
CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, OXFORD.

nave, few of which approach it in scenic effect. As a free æsthetic conception and example of pure skill in construction, it

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can hold its own with any building ever raised ; but if we look at it from a French standpoint, and demand that neither skill nor æsthetic designing shall hide the scheme of structure, it is more open to fault-finding. And yet, after all, it is not easy to establish a sound logical basis for rejecting the one system and accepting the other. If we insist that the actual method of construction shall be visible to any intelligent eye surveying the interior of a Gothic cathedral, we are at once met by the difficulty of accounting for the stability of vault and clear-story. If, on the other hand, we allow a detailed examination of the whole building before demanding a verdict, the vault of Henry VII's Chapel may justify itself as easily as that of Amiens. We cannot well lay



FIG. 125.—DURHAM: CENTRAL TOWER.

it down that the intelligent eye may go outside and reassure itself with the sight of the flying buttresses, at Amiens, and may not visit the roof to *constater*—why have we no convenient word for that in English?—the part played by the great transverse ribs at Westminster !

The strictly architectural parts of St. George's, Windsor (Fig. 106), are inferior to the same things at King's College and at Westminster. The nave and choir arcades are thin and poor, and the vault monotonous. These faults have been avoided by the architect of Henry VII's Chapel, who has produced what is, on the whole, the most successful example of thorough-going Perpendicular in its latest phase (Fig. 113). The interior of his chapel only wants two things to be a perfect gem in its way, viz.: Stained glass in the windows of the apse, and the



FIG. 127.—BEVERLEY MINSTER, WEST FRONT.

PERPENDICULAR GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE

absence of the bronze screen round the King's tomb. This screen, fine in itself, goes far to destroy the proportions of the chapel,



FIG. 128.—YORK MINSTER. SOUTH SIDE.

while it hides Torrigiano's beautiful monument. Outside, the chapel is hardly so successful (Fig. 112). The clear-story and flying buttresses are finely conceived, but the panelling of the lower story, with its apparent attempt to deceive the spectator as to how much is wall and how much window, is less satisfactory. In the Divinity School at Oxford (Fig. 110), the quantitative relation between the interior, as a whole, and its parts—especially in the number and scantling of the vaulting ribs—is unusually happy; but the eye would have been better pleased had the trace of the main arches supporting the vault—they are more than ribs—been less angular at the imposts, a remark which also applies to the blind arches at the ends of the hall.

The fan vaulting, which exists in greater or less development in all these buildings, is the most famous and typically English feature of



FIG. 129.—YORK MINSTER: CHOIR, LOOKING EAST.

ART IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND



FIG. 130.—COMPTON WINYATES, WARWICKSHIRE.

suggested the substitution of a cone for a pyramid, while the absorption of the groins allowed the ribs to be freely used as decorative media. The Gloucester vault is not only the earliest, it is one of the best examples of the method. Others (besides those in the chapels already described) are to be found in St. Lawrence's, Evesham, in Bath Abbey, in the retrochoir at Peterborough, in the choir of Oxford Cathedral (Fig. 22), and the neighboring staircase

the style. It first appeared in its full perfection in the cloisters of Gloucester Cathedral. Its origin was simple. It occurred to some architect or builder that the inverted pyramids, of which the severeys of a groined vault had previously consisted, could be lightened by cutting off their angles. This readily



FIG. 131.—WESTMINSTER HALL.



FIG. 132.—GATEHOUSE, THORNTON ABBEY.

of the college hall, in the remarkable Perpendicular church at Fotheringay, and in a large number of other buildings.

Many fine towers were carried out in "Third Pointed." Among the best may be named the towers of Howden Church, Yorks, of Merton (Fig. 122), and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford, of Fountains Abbey (Fig. 50), of St. Mary's, Taunton, and All

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and Gresford (near Chester), and the central towers of Canterbury (Fig. 91), Gloucester (Fig. 137), York, and Durham Cathedrals (Figs. 128 and 126). Fine spires are hardly so numerous. The best, perhaps, are those of St. Michael's, Coventry, and St. Mary's, Oxford, restored as they are, while the "crowns" of St. Nicholas's, at Newcastle, and St. Giles's, Edinburgh, are the best examples of a motive which occurs elsewhere, in steeples, market crosses (Fig. 132), etc.

The customary East End of an English church lends itself to the presence of a fine background for the High Altar. Consequently we find many of our cathedrals and chapels closed at the East by a magnificent reredos, in which sculpture and decorative architecture unite to produce a gorgeous effect. Unhappily the statues in the great majority of cases are modern restorations, the various furies which have swept over English religion having made a clean sweep of the original figures. Perpendicular lent itself to the enrichment of such screens. The finest now remaining are the two very similar ones at Winchester and St. Albans (Fig. 124, the Wallingford screen, lately spoilt by the introduction of figures in a yellow stone which accords but ill with the white architecture), and the



FIG. 133.—ILMINSTER CHURCH.



FIG. 134.—ST. GILES'S CHURCH, WREXHAM.

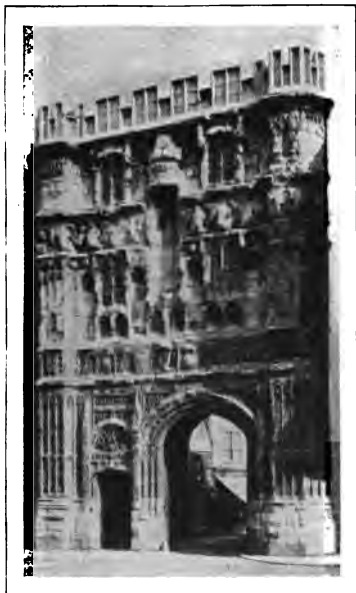


FIG. 135.—GATEWAY, CANTERBURY.

ard, Earl of Warwick, at Warwick (Fig. 121), of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, at St. Albans, the shrines of St. Frideswide, at Oxford (Fig. 125), and William of Wykeham, at Winchester, and the very late semi-Renaissance Salisbury Chantry, in Christchurch, Hampshire, may also be particularized.

Before leaving Perpendicular, and with it Gothic architecture, a word must be said about a feature no less English than the fan vaults. I mean those magnificent timber roofs in which our carpenters of pre-Reformation days expressed their courage and skill. The finest is the roof of Westminster Hall, which may fairly be called the greatest

splendid East Ends of three college chapels at Oxford, New College, Magdalen, and All Souls' (Figs. 117, 118, and 119). Besides these Eastern glories, the choir of an English cathedral is sometimes shut off from the nave by a sumptuous barrier, which carried the Rood, the best remaining example being in York Minster.

The style has also left many splendid tombs. The exquisite resting-place of Edward III in Westminster Abbey dates from the very beginning of the Perpendicular period (Fig. 107); that of Richard II and his Queen from somewhat later; the tombs of Gower, the poet, in Southwark Cathedral, of Henry IV and Archbishop Warham, at Canterbury, of Thomas Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, at Arundel, of Rich-



FIG. 136.—LAYER MARNEY TOWERS.

PERPENDICULAR GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE



FIG. 137.—CENTRAL TOWER, GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

creation of the carpenter the world has to show (Fig. 131). Here the *principles* (the main transverse members) become trefoil arches, enriched with carved angels at their cusps, and filled in and connected above by open timber tracery. Slight variations of the same construction were used for the roofs of Hampton Court Hall, and the Hall of Cardinal College, now Christ Church, at Oxford. At Hampton Court, however, much of the ornamental detail is pure Renaissance, some of it, as will



FIG. 138.—CLOISTERS OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

be found noticed elsewhere, bearing marks of Holbein's intervention. Many other fine timber roofs date from this period, such as those of Trunch Church, Norfolk, and St. Peter's Mancroft, Norwich. Akin to these magnificent timber roofs are the great screens which exist in so many English Halls and Chapels. In many cases, however, these are rather Renaissance than Gothic, both in spirit and detail. They are very numerous, and often of

English Halls and Chapels. In many cases, however, these are rather Renaissance than Gothic, both in spirit and detail. They are very numerous, and often of



FIG. 139.—HAMPTON COURT PALACE. WEST FRONT.

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a richness which recalls the exuberance of similar things beyond the Pyrenees, rather than anything nearer home.

Some of the finest examples are in the churches of Holbeton, Harberton, Dunster, Atherington, Bovey Tracey, Cartmel, Kenton, Croscombe, Staverton, Llananno, Strensham, and in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, the Middle Temple Hall, and Wadham College, Oxford. This list includes screens of all periods, down to the commencement of the full Renaissance.

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FIG. 140.—MARKET CROSS,
SALISBURY.



FIG. 141.—LONGLEAT, WILTS.

CHAPTER VII

THE TUDOR CHAOS

THE last song of Gothic in England gradually died away between the accession of Henry VIII in 1509 and the final creation of the English variety of Renaissance architecture by Inigo Jones rather more than a century later. Between the latest achievements of



FIG. 142.—HALL, HAMPTON COURT.

Perpendicular, as an organized system, and the earliest works of Jones, lay a sort of architectural whirlpool, in which fragments of Italian and German Renaissance shouldered the wreckage of English Gothic and threw up that peculiar mixed style which has again been so effectively used during the last quarter of a century.

Between the last building in which Gothic ideas, as understood in England, governed the whole, say between the erection of Wolsey's Hall at Christ Church and the complete surrender to new principles from Southern Europe under the lead of Inigo Jones, England was covered with buildings in what is called the Tudor Style, about which it is very difficult to write

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systematically. The characteristic of the period, speaking broadly, was the use of motives, from both the Gothic and the Latin traditions, in a merely picturesque fashion, with little or no regard to their structural origin. Tempted by the renewal of national comfort and prosperity, after the destructive period beginning with the Wars of the Roses and ending with the tyranny of Henry VIII, had passed away, Italian, Flemish, and German artisans came to England in large numbers. Under such conflicting influences architecture became chaotic.

The period was scarcely one of transition in the true sense. Forms did not slowly develop from each other; they were mixed up with new forms, the mixture sometimes ending in a superficial harmony, sometimes in mere eccentricity, but never in a real organic unity. Things were not to be straightened out until a man of genius arose to do it. Inigo Jones was to do for English art after the Tudor confusion what Napoleon did for French society after the turmoil of the early Revolution.

The earliest monument of importance in which the Gothic influence meets the Latin is Wolsey's palace at Hampton Court. The Cardinal began work in 1515. His architects and artisans were mostly English, but Italians were employed on some of the ornament. It is known that Giovanni da Majano made the terra-cotta roundels with busts of Roman Emperors, which appear on the two outer towers. Giovanni found terra-cotta in use in England—at Layer

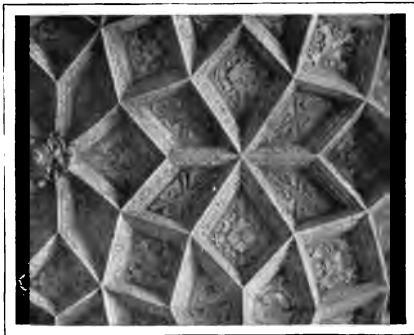


FIG. 143.—CEILING OF BISHOP WEST'S CHAPEL, ELY.

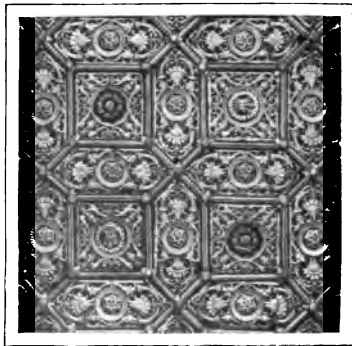


FIG. 144.—CEILING OF WOLSEY'S CLOSET, HAMPTON COURT.

THE TUDOR CHAOS

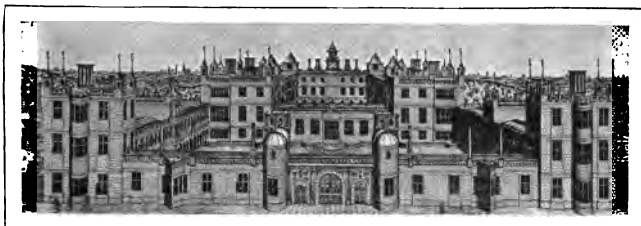


FIG. 145.—AUDLEY END, ESSEX.

Marney, Sutton Place, and elsewhere—but his work shows no sign of native influence. And this we almost invariably find to be the case. Wherever we have documentary evidence of the employment of foreigners on an English building, we find the work they did was foreign also. They did not come here to accept English notions, but to carry out their own. We have reason to believe that other Italians besides Giovanni da Majano worked at Hampton Court, but the ceiling (Fig. 144) of the room known as Wolsey's closet, which has been usually accepted as Italian, seems rather to belong to that type of Renaissance ornament which Holbein used with such felicity. Unless I am much mistaken, this ceiling is not the only place in which the effect of his example, at least, is to be



FIG. 146.—GATE TOWER,
TRINITY COLLEGE.



FIG. 147.—HATFIELD HOUSE.

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traced in Wolsey's palace. Torrigiano's tomb of Henry VII at Westminster, within the elaborate but destructive English *grille*,

is entirely Italian. Imported Italians were responsible for many other fine creations, among them the magnificent tomb destined first for Cardinal Wolsey and secondly for Henry VIII, but used—what survived of it—for the sepulture of Nelson nearly three centuries later; this was the work of Benedetto da Rovezzano. Such things do not belong to the history

of English art, however, and need not be discussed at any length. The whole movement, indeed, can scarcely be considered as belonging to our true national development, but in such a manual as this its chief productions will have to be noted, nevertheless.

Many conditions helped to make the period incoherent. The

foreign immigrants came as artisans, or at most as what we should now call sub-contractors, not as masters. In no single case has proof been found that a foreign architect was intrusted with the chief control of an important work. The instance usually given is that of Longleat (Fig. 141) and John of Padua. But even there we have no evidence but tradition, and on this doubt is cast by the aspect of the work itself; for Longleat is an English house, with a certain Latin purity in the design of its details. The architect may have been either John Shute, or, possibly, though not probably, Robert Smithson, who



FIG. 148.—HARDWICKE HALL, DERBYSHIRE.



FIG. 149.—HARDWICKE HALL, PRESENCE CHAMBER.

appears on the accounts as clerk of the works. Immediately on the completion of Longleat, Smithson was intrusted with the

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erection of Wollaton Hall, Notts, which resembles Longleat but slightly. Decisive differences are the greater exuberance of detail



FIG. 150.—MONTACUTE, SOMERSETSHIRE.

in the latter, and the comparative inferiority of its proportions, both as a whole and in parts. But if we suppose that John of Padua acted as adviser either to Shute or Smithson, we shall account for both the appearance of Longleat and the tradition as to its architect. Mr. Reginald Blomfield (who believes Shute to have built Longleat) suggests the Salisbury Chantry, in Christ Church, Hants, as a good example of the way in which work was divided between English builders and foreign *ornemanistes*. There the structural parts are ordinary late Perpendicular in design and workmanship, while the vertical bands on the engaged shafts, the horizontal bands on the architraves, and the spandrels above the niches, are enriched with Renaissance ornament of the finest Italian design and execution.

Foreign influences in England during this century vary locally. The number of French immigrants was small. Scarcely any work bearing signs of a French origin can be pointed to, the chief exceptions being the Oxenbrigg Monument in Bride Church, Sussex, and some capitals in the old church at Chelsea (Blomfield). The Italian, German, and Flemish immigrants, on the other hand, spread themselves over the country, although in a partial and tentative way, the Italians clinging to the districts easily reached from the Channel ports, the Flemings and



FIG. 151.—LONG GALLERY, CHIRK CASTLE.
(Partly Restoration.)

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FIG. 152.—GALLERY, HADDON HALL.

most important, and one of the earliest, of the Germans, was Holbein, who left a few casual finger-prints on English building as he passed to his painting room. Most of the odds and ends of architecture ascribed to him, however, offer no recognizable proofs of his authorship. The Northern Gate at Whitehall, which stood opposite to where Gwydyr House now stands, and has figured so often in books as "Holbein's Gate," was a thoroughly English, late Gothic design, similar to the towers at Hampton Court, the Gates of Trinity and St. John's, at Cambridge, and many other contemporary structures. The Southern, or King Street, Gate, which stood where Downing Street at



FIG. 154.—LONGFORD CASTLE, WILTS.

Germans showing their preference for the eastern counties and the midlands.

Throughout the latter part of Henry's reign the Italians in England steadily diminished, while the Flemings and Germans grew in number. This adjustment was in harmony with the politico-ecclesiastical situation, and partly resulted from it. The



FIG. 153.—HERTFORD TOMB, SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

present debouches on Whitehall, was probably the one designed by Holbein. No quite satisfactory reproduction has survived, but Vertue's engraving of 1725, made from a drawing of his own and published two years after the site was cleared, shows that the King Street Gate was entirely characteristic of the Augsburg, both

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in detail and in general design. Another trace of his activity, hitherto unrecognized, is to be found, I think, in the beautiful pendants to the timber roof of the great hall at Hampton Court. These were supplied by one "Richard Rydge, Kerver," of London, (Law), but in their design the *griffe du lion* is unmistakable.

The reign of Elizabeth saw a great influx of Germans and Flemings, whose influence—that of the Germans at least—was not for our good. To their example may be traced the nonsensical ornament and defective proportion which were characteristic of Elizabethan building. Their influence was predominant throughout the reign. "The screens and mantel-pieces of old Charter House, of Longleat, and of Hatfield, the ponderous entrance porch of Audley End, the strapwork gables . . . of Wollaton, the barbarous notion of using Tuscan and other columns as chimneys, the shapes of men and women ending in balusters, all show the heavy hand, the merely mechanical instinct of the German workman; and architectural design being at a low ebb at this period, or being rather,



FIG. 155.—KNOLE, KENT.



FIG. 156.—BEDROOM, KNOLE.



FIG. 157.—GALLERY, KNOLE.



FIG. 158.—COLONNADE, KNOLE.

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one should say, in an undeveloped state, people who built houses had recourse to that last refuge of the destitute, the pattern book,



FIG. 159.—CHAPEL, KNOLE.

that is, folio pages of design done into space, designs not made in relation to specific conditions, but made as merely academical or commercial exercises by some facile designer of tailpieces and title pages. . . . It was unfortunate that the treatises most in use in England at this time were German rather than Italian. . . . It is evident, in fact, that the English builder-architect of the time of Elizabeth was a somewhat ignorant and ill-educated person, and did not follow better models simply be-

cause he was ignorant of their existence " (Reginald Blomfield).

The Germans and Flemings, like the Italians before them, were employed in more or less subordinate capacities. No building of importance was left entirely in their hands, except, perhaps, Sir Thomas Gresham's Exchange. For this the design came obviously from the Low Countries. Both in detail and in general conception it breathes Antwerp, and is distinguished by a restraint and grace which are not to be found in more Teutonic creations. The German invaders are mainly responsible for the frequently picturesque but still oftener barbarous designs of mantel-pieces, chimneys, tombs, and other objects giving a purchase to ill-restrained invention, which have come down to us in such numbers from the reigns of Elizabeth and her immediate successor. A good example of the characteristic designs to which this Anglo-Teutonic art gave birth is that for the Hertford monument in Salisbury Cathedral, in which details often



FIG. 160.—GALLERY, POWIS CASTLE.

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absurd in themselves are coördinated into a not unpleasing whole (Fig. 153).

Englishmen in the position of what we should now call architects are not to be certainly identified for any one of the great Elizabethan buildings. The identification of Robert Smithson as the master mind at Wollaton is perhaps the least problematical. Many works have been ascribed to John Thorpe, who was most likely only a surveyor. Thomas Holt, who is credited with much work at Oxford, including the Tower of the Five Orders, in the old Schools, was an excellent carpenter. On the other hand, Sir Thomas Tresham was probably the architect, in our sense, of several charming buildings erected at his expense. John Abel was a picturesque if somewhat coarse worker in the half-timber method popular in the richly wooded shires of the West. Thomas and Robert Grumbol, and John Westley, of Cambridge, close the list of notable master builders who worked in methods popular before Inigo Jones (Blomfield).



FIG. 162.—OLD HOUSE,
CHESTER.



FIG. 161.—ROOM FROM SIZERGH CASTLE.
(Victoria and Albert Museum.)

The Tudor chaos, as was to be expected, produced no ecclesiastical buildings of importance. After the sequestration of the monasteries (1534-9), church building in England was in practical abeyance until the destruction of eighty-nine London churches by the Great Fire (1666) opened a field to the genius of Wren.

The chief monuments are country houses; they include Longleat (Fig. 141); Montacute (Figs. 150, 168); Charlcote; Burghley; parts of Longford Castle (Fig. 154), Wilts; Wollaton House, Notts; Holland House; Audley End (Fig. 145); Kirby House; Aston Hall, Birmingham; Apethorpe Knole (Figs. 155-9); Buckhurst;

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Holdenby; Kirkby Hall (Fig. 204); Loseley; Littlecote; Hardwicke (Fig. 148); Hatfield (Fig. 147); and Ampthill. Among



FIG. 163.—MORETON OLD HALL, LANCASHIRE.

destroyed monuments the most important, perhaps, were Nonsuch Palace, which only survives, however, in some more or less incomprehensible engravings, the first Royal Exchange already mentioned, and Old Somerset House. In all these buildings, more or less, contending influences can be traced, the German making, on the whole, for confusion and meaningless enrichment, the Flemish and Italian for reticence, the *à propos*, and general good taste.

With a very few exceptions the earliest timber and half-timber buildings still extant in the country date from the day of the Tudor monarchs. In several half-timber houses domestic Perpendicular may be found in such purity as it possessed, but the great majority belong to the Tudor style as well as dynasty. The most ambitious examples are to be found in Lancashire, where Samlesbury, Speke Hall, Moreton Old Hall (Fig. 163), and other fine manor houses show what could be done with the method. Some beautiful work



FIG. 164.—LYEMORE, MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

is to be seen in Agecroft Hall, in the same county. The western counties are full of good half-timber work, the best specimens being in Chester, Shrewsbury, Dunster, and other towns. Lyemore (Fig. 164), Montgomeryshire, once the home of Lord Herbert of Cheshire, is a fine manor house. Ockwells Manor House, Berkshire, is an exquisite specimen, very beautiful in detail, dating from the reign of Henry VII.

The eastern and south-eastern counties are rich in similar work, which is to be found at Ightham, Harrietsham, Wingham, Bury St. Edmund's, Lavenham, Saffron-

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Walden, Newark, etc. Scraps of finely carved timber work—corner-posts, doors, windows—frequently crop up through later construction, adding their modest contribution to the fragmentary evidence on which our belief in the artistic capacity of our forbears has to depend in so many directions.

In spite of their bastard birth, the creations of this chaotic period have a decidedly English stamp. Extravagant in detail as they often are, they betray little of that passion for detail for its own sake which marks the Teuton; while the Latin readiness to make almost any sacrifice for the sake of symmetry finds little more than an enfeebled echo.

Domestic architecture both in Scotland and in Ireland was semi-military, and, so far, mediæval, much later than in England. Its remains in Scotland are remarkably interesting. They show strong signs of that French influence which was so long an important factor north of the Tweed, but in spite of this they have a decided character of their own. It is difficult to find a mediæval building in Scotland in which there is no evidence of æsthetic ambitions. Even in the rudest border pele, the mouldings of a doorway or a chimney-piece, the corbelled support of a pepper-box turret, will show that the man who built it had a corner in his mind for art. And even where, by rare exception, no such details are present, some dignity of proportion—as in Bothwell Castle, for instance—will preclude the deduction that the claim of art was unknown and ignored. A true instinct is betrayed, too, by the use of the skyline. The main seat of effect in a building is its upper part, and



FIG. 165.—GLAMIS CASTLE, FORFARSHIRE.



FIG. 166.—HOWTH CASTLE, COUNTY DUBLIN.

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this the Scottish architects understood as well as those of the New York sky-scrapers. The exact dates of Scottish castles are often difficult to fix. A large proportion are still inhabited, and have been continuously added to and modified for centuries. But their type is well known and is a variation—sometimes more effective than its models



FIG. 167.—CHIRK CASTLE, OSWESTRY.

—of the châteaux built in France while security was still the main objective. As dwellings, the Scottish mediæval castles were by no means so rude as is often asserted. Of this we may convince ourselves by those arrangements for the convenience of their occupants which can still be traced. "Garderobes," for instance, are at least as numerous and well placed as in a modern house. Warmth was well provided for, fire-places and chimneys being plentiful. A favorite method of construction was to divide the total height into two or three stories by tunnel or groined vaults, and to sub-divide these again into four or six by timber floors. Good examples of Scottish castles of various types—some ruined, some still alive



FIG. 168.—MONTACUTE, SOMERSETSHIRE.

and active—are Borthwick, Bothwell, Crichton, Castle Campbell, Caerlaverock, Cawdor, Craigmillar, Crosraguel, Linlithgow Palace, Dirleton, Glamis (Fig. 165), Fyvie, and those North-western Towers of Holyrood in which occurred the few romantic

and tragic events in the life of the famous old Palace.

In Ireland the signs of art in mediæval domestic architecture

THE TUDOR CHAOS

chiefly consist of a characteristic sky line and pleasant general proportion (Howth Castle, Fig. 166). The countless castles are, as a rule, mere ruins, or so embraced and hidden by later accretions that their arrangements are impossible to follow. A considerable number of modern houses in Ireland have an ancient castle for their core. It is not uncommon to find two modern drawing rooms separated from each other by a wall eight, ten, or even fifteen feet thick, the explanation being that some ancient stronghold of the O'Conors or O'Tooles forms a concealed backbone to the modern house. In comfort they were little inferior, as a rule, to those of Scotland, but are much poorer in those slight but unmistakable traces of an æsthetic bent which surprise and please the eye in the northern country; which is curious, seeing how the Irish excelled in their early ecclesiastical architecture and in many other walks of art.

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FIG. 169.—MAPPERTON, FROM BLOMFIELD.



FIG. 170.—ST. PAUL'S, FROM LUDGATE HILL.
(Picturesque view, to show the fitness of the design for the site.)



FIG. 171.—WHITEHALL. CENTRAL BLOCK OF NORTH FRONT, AS DESIGNED BY INIGO JONES.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE—INIGO JONES AND SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN

THE beginning of Renaissance architecture in England as a definite, reasoned-out method of design dates from the first works of Inigo Jones. Jones was born in 1573 and spent much of his time in early manhood on the Continent. His English career began in 1604, but



FIG. 172.—ST. PAUL'S, COVENT GARDEN
(INIGO JONES.)

it was not until 1615 that he became Surveyor-General of the Works, and not until 1619 that he made his first scheme for the rebuilding of the Palace of Whitehall. This first project was the comparatively modest Palace designed for James I, to be elaborated many years later into the magnificent conception completed for Charles I, which has been a mine of architectural ideas ever since.¹ Of these plans the only

part ever carried out was the Banqueting House, which is, perhaps, as satisfactory a solution of an artistic problem as we can point to. Internally, it was to be a state dining room, with a provision for spectators: externally, a link between buildings of more complex purpose, more elaborate design, and much

¹ There is a conflict of evidence as to which of the two designs was the earlier, but on the whole the probabilities seem to favor the conclusion that the more splendid design was the later.

ART IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

greater elevation. It is scarcely too much to say that, given the conditions, Jones's second Whitehall is the most astonishing creation by a single mind that the history of architecture has to show. It was the work of a man who went to Italy, learnt the grammar of his art there, and returned to this country to throw off a scheme for a palace larger than any other in the world ; at once more varied and more homogeneous ; inspired with a national

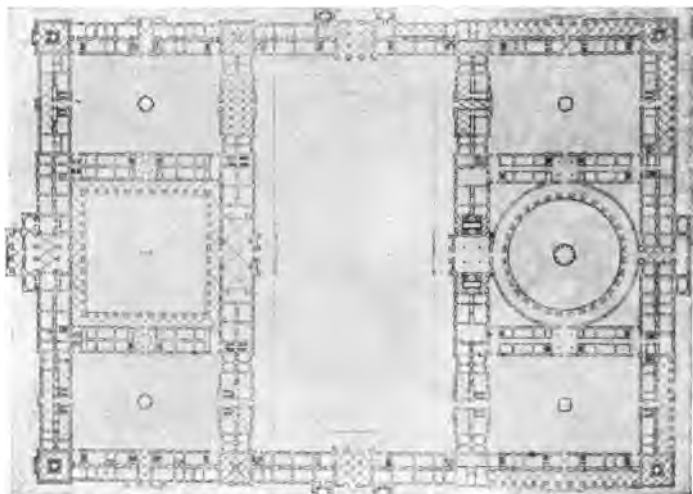


FIG. 173.—GROUND FLOOR PLAN OF INIGO JONES'S WHITEHALL.
(Scale: about 300 feet to the inch.)

feeling in spite of the fact that no national tradition existed to help him ; and grandly monumental in its total effect.

Confining our attention to the more ambitious of the two projects : the Palace of Whitehall was designed to cover a site about 1200 feet long by 900 feet wide, that is, rather more than four times the ground occupied by the existing Houses of Parliament. It was to contain seven inner courts, of which the great central quadrangle, running through the whole from North to South, was to be nearly 800 feet long by about 380 feet wide—this court, surrounded by magnificent and happily varied pavilions measuring from 80 to 110 feet in height, would have had no rival in the world. West of it there were to be three courts, the central one being circular and extremely rich in its details. Eastward, too, there was to be a trio

INIGO JONES AND WREN

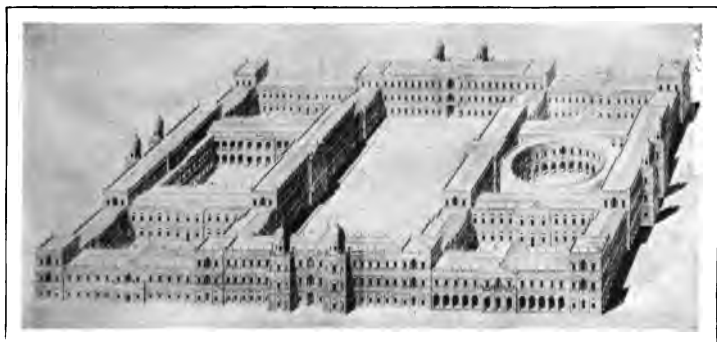


FIG. 174.—INIGO JONES'S WHITEHALL, FROM MÜLLER'S ENGRAVING.

of courts, all quadrangular. The only detail in the whole design which has ever been subjected to much adverse criticism was the proposed completion of the sky line with a pair of pepper-box turrets in the centre of each façade. But Jones, like Wren, and Alfred Stevens, and other great artists, always improved his designs in the execution, and no doubt anything which weakened the project of Whitehall would have been weeded out before the last stone was laid. Had Charles I only contrived to keep his head on his shoulders, London would have possessed in Whitehall a secular pendant to St. Paul's which would have sufficed, in itself, to remove the reproach of architectural poverty so long brought against it. And the project was no dream, no "Castle in Spain." It was an undertaking determined on and actually begun, which only miscarried through events unconnected with itself. I have called the plans for Whitehall a mine of architectural ideas. Those who



FIG. 175.—ASHBURNHAM HOUSE (STAIRCASE).
INIGO JONES.
(From Blomfield.)

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are familiar with its details may recognize the source of many little passages of design about the streets of English cities. One of the



FIG. 170.—GREENWICH HOSPITAL.
(INIGO JONES.)

most flagrant instances is afforded by Sir George Gilbert Scott's forced essay in Renaissance at Westminster. In the Home Office block much of his architecture consists of slices conveyed from the façades of Whitehall, and spoilt by atrocious detail. The difference between the masculine power of Jones and the weakness of Scott, working blindly in a style he had never assimilated, is shown in startling fashion by comparing

their basements ;—that of Whitehall is superb in the combined beauty and vigor of its rusticated arcade, which was born to support the great wall above it and to do it with grace. Scott's panelled lower story is deplorably weak and crushed.

Over the other works of Inigo Jones there has been much dispute. A large number of buildings—Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh, St. Mary's Porch (Fig. 177) and the Inner Quadrangle of St. John's College, Oxford, the Exchange at Copenhagen, among others—have been ascribed to him without evidence and against the probabilities. But parts of Greenwich Hospital, of Wilton House, Salisbury (including the two splendid rooms known as the Double and Single Cubes), Raynham Park, Norfolk, part of Cobham Hall, Kent (Fig. 186), the church of St. Paul, Covent Garden, Ashburnham House, Westminster, with its beautiful staircase (Fig. 175), and the watergate to York House, in the Strand, which still stands, half buried, at the foot of Buckingham Street, are from his designs. "His extraordinary capacity is shown by the success with which he freed English architecture from the imbecilities of the German designers, and started it on a line



FIG. 177.—PORCH OF ST. MARY'S,
OXFORD.
(? INIGO JONES.)

INIGO JONES AND WREN

of fresh development, borrowed, it is true, from Italy, yet so successfully adapted to English traditions, that it was at once accepted and followed by the best intelligence of the country for the next hundred and fifty years. His especial strength lay in his thorough mastery of proportion, his contempt for mere prettiness, and the rare distinction of his style. His own theory of architecture was that, in his own words, it should be 'solid, proportional according to the rules, masculine and unaffected.'



FIG. 178.—ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL. (WREN.)

No man has ever more completely realized his own ideal of his art" (Blomfield). To this I must add that Jones had that final and most decisive mark of all great artists, that he could pour his own personality into every detail of his work; so that, apart from all objective tests, it recommends itself by an individual unity of character which raises every project of his into the rank of a creation.

The years immediately succeeding Jones's death are poor in architectural monuments. His pupil and assistant, John Webb,



FIG. 179.—EASTERN QUADRANGLE, HAMPTON COURT. (WREN.)

did a great deal of work, but most of it has little distinction. At one time he was engaged in superintending the execution of his master's designs at Wilton House, at Amesbury, at Ashburnham House in Dean's Yard, Westminster, and probably at Gunnersbury and Greenwich. The best perhaps of his own designs is that for Thorpe Hall, near

Peterborough, built for Oliver St. John. It has much of Jones's dignity and felicity of proportion.

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But English Renaissance architecture made no move which need be chronicled here between the death of Jones and the first activities of Wren.



FIG. 180.—TRINITY COLLEGE CHAPEL, OXFORD. (WREN.)

Christopher Wren was born in 1632. His father was Dean of Windsor and his uncle, Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely. He himself was a pupil of Busby, at Westminster, a fellow commoner of Wadham College, Oxford, and a fellow of All Souls by the time he was twenty-one. In youth his interests were aroused by all those forms of science in which mathematics, and mechanical ingenuity, and skill in adapting abstract knowledge to practical ends, could be made to play a part. It was not until 1661, when he was twenty-nine years of age, that he was brought into practical contact with architecture. In that year he was appointed assistant to Sir John Denham, the Surveyor-General of Works. Soon afterward he built the Chapel of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford. The Ashmolean Museum has also been ascribed to him, but there is reason to believe it was the work of a forgotten architect called Wood. His best design in Oxford is the interior of Trinity College Chapel (Fig. 180). Wren's great opportunity, the greatest ever afforded to an architect, came with the fire of London in the autumn of 1666. He drew up a magnificent plan for the laying out of the city on new lines, which was defeated by English conservatism and other forces. He rebuilt the Cathedral and no fewer than fifty-four churches within the sound of its bells. The most famous of his churches is St. Stephen's, Walbrook (Fig. 181), in which extraordinary dignity of effect has been reached by simple though ingenious methods. It has been suggested that certain Eastern domes gave Wren a hint for that of St. Stephen's. This is improbable, especially as a church existed nearer home, viz., the Church of St. Anne, at Haarlem, which embodied exactly the same idea. If St. Stephen's



FIG. 181.—ST. STEPHEN'S, WALBROOK. (WREN.)

INIGO JONES AND WREN

be the best of Wren's small churches, his best steeple is certainly that of Bow Church (Fig. 182), Cheapside, in which the problem of adapting quasi-classical detail to a vertical general conception is solved with unique success. The domes and colonnades of Greenwich Hospital (Fig. 184), forming one of the most effective conceptions Renaissance architecture has produced, the Monument of London, St. Bride's, Fleet Street (Fig. 183), the eastern block of Hampton Court Palace (Figs. 179, 185), the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Temple Bar—barbarously carted away in 1878—are also among the triumphs of Wren. But his name will always be more loudly connected with St. Paul's than with any other of his works, albeit the Cathedral of London is by no means so faultless as some of the designs just mentioned. St. Paul's was actually begun in 1672. The design carried out was not the first prepared by the architect.



FIG. 182.—BOW CHURCH, CHEAPSIDE. (WREN.)



FIG. 183.—ST. BRIDE'S, FLEET STREET. (WREN.)

Two others require to be mentioned. One is embodied in a wooden model now lodged in an upper chamber of the Cathedral, the other in a paper scheme sealed by the King and known as the "warrant" design. The model shows a church far inferior to the existing one in its external elevations, but superior to it in plan and internal arrangements generally. It was rejected through the influence of the Duke of York, helped, perhaps, by the secret inclinations of the King, as ill adapted to the ritual of the Roman Church. The second, or "warrant" design, could not have been seriously put forward. No architect in his sober senses could have proposed to carry it out. It was possibly intended to amuse the Court while Wren was elaborating the conception with which the world is now so familiar. But the secret history of these designs is unknown, and we may suspect that the intelligence

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and humor of Charles II, who found himself between Rome and London, between his brother and the French Court, on the one hand, and the English people on the other, had a good deal to do with the comedy of the "warrant" design.

St. Paul's, as it is, has a more than plausible claim to be considered the most successful great church built in Europe during the Renaissance. St. Peter's at Rome excels it in size and in the dignity of its internal arrangements, while Michelangelo's dome would rival Sir Christopher's if only we could see it. But the external design of St. Paul's, as a whole, is infinitely finer than that of St. Peter's,



FIG. 184.—GREENWICH HOSPITAL. (WREN.)

while the other churches which might be quoted in the same connection—the Panthéon and the Church of the Invalides, in Paris, St. Isaac's at Petersburg—are comparatively unimportant and lack the imaginative touch which makes the mass of St. Paul's so imposing.

Besides his fifty-five churches, Wren built eight colleges, thirty-five halls (City companies, etc.), four palaces, and over forty other important buildings.

After St. Paul's the most important of Wren's achievements was the rebuilding of the eastern part of Hampton Court. To do this he had to destroy a considerable part of the Tudor palace, which is matter for lamentation; but he almost reconciles us to the loss

INIGO JONES AND WREN

by the beauty of the buildings he reared on the site. And not only are they beautiful, they are convenient also to a degree then quite unknown in a palace, as all those who have had the opportunity for a thorough exploration will agree. Nowhere else have the chosen materials, red brick with stone dressings, been endowed with such dignity. He also designed a magnificent approach, with a semicircular forecourt, for the northern side, between the existing palace and the gates of Bushey Park. This was never carried out. His additions to Trinity College, Cambridge, may almost be classed as a palace. The design for the library is one of the cleverest he made, although it cannot be denied that the contrivance by which he reconciled a high external basement story with a low internal one cannot be accepted without a qualm.



FIG. 185.—S.E. ANGLE, HAMPTON COURT PALACE. (WREN.)

Certain achievements of Wren were eccentric. He designed the existing towers of Westminster Abbey, a few "Gothic" churches in the City, and the curiously happy upper stage of Tom Tower, Oxford. Interesting as these productions may be to a student of Wren's personality, they need not be discussed in a sketch of a nation's artistic evolution.

It was not only as artists that Jones and Wren deserved well of their country, they also confirmed the tradition which has made English architects the best planners in the world. In arranging their buildings, and providing for the easy access of light, air, and people to every part, they showed a freedom and common-sense which have, on the whole, governed English architecture ever since. In judging of this we are not confined to their finished works. Both men left behind them a large number of plans, designs, and sketches, which illustrate the extent of their powers. The chief collections of

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these are in Worcester and all Souls' Colleges, Oxford, at Chatsworth, and in the Soane Museum.

It is scarcely too much to say that, as the word architect is now understood, Jones and Wren were the two greatest of whom we have any full knowledge. Their achievements do not rank with the creation of Greek or of Gothic architecture, but no other individual architect can be named whose genius and activity led to such results as theirs. Jones is most easily compared with Palladio; Wren, perhaps, with such a man as the elder Mansard. But Palladio's genius was less masculine, less broad in its grip than that of Jones. Great as his success was when the problem before him was simple, we have no reason to suppose that he could have designed Whitehall. And Mansard's gifts cannot stand for a moment beside the immense variety, the taste, the sense of proportion, the judgment and ingenuity, the copious imagination, and the unrivalled skill in adapting a design to its destined surroundings, of Wren.

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FIG. 186.—COBHAM HALL, KENT, SHOWING BLOCK ASCRIBED TO INIGO JONES.



FIG. 187.—SOMERSET HOUSE. (SIR WILLIAM CHAMBERS.)

CHAPTER IX

FOLLOWERS OF JONES AND WREN

JONES created a new dialect in Renaissance architecture, Wren gave it flexibility and completed its adaptation to English wants. But in one respect Wren was happier than Jones. He "both founded a school and lived to see it flourish. Though he had practically retired many years before his death in 1723, he could see around him many architects well able to take up and carry on his tradition." (Loftie.) They were: Edward Garman, or German, the architect of the second Royal Exchange (which went up in smoke in 1838) and of several other City buildings; Captain Winde, or Wynne, possibly a Dutchman, who built Newcastle House in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and old Buckingham House in St. James's Park; Henry Bell, of King's Lynn, where much excellent work by him is to be found; Talman, builder of Chatsworth, Thoresby (destroyed) and Swallowfield, now chiefly remembered as one of those who harassed the later years of Sir Christopher Wren.¹

¹ "Talman," says Blomfield, "seems to have been the true type of the official architect. His work has the technical ability found in the work of nearly every known English architect of the Restoration, and onward till the latter part of the eighteenth century; that is to say, his design is fairly correct, according to the accepted canons of classical architecture, and his construction is sound though by no means dexterous." *Renaissance Architecture in England* vol. ii, p. 196.



FIG. 188.—ST. MARY-LE-STRAND, LONDON. (GIBBS.)

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FIG. 189.—HORSE GUARDS, WHITEHALL. (KENT.)

Slightly later were the Earl of Burlington, Hawksmoor, Gibbs, Archer, James, Vanbrugh, Kent, Colin Campbell, Vardy, and the elder of the Bath Woods. Of these men he who has most interested posterity was undoubtedly Vanbrugh, who had the advertising gift during his lifetime and has not lost it since. He talked well and wrote good plays, and as an architect was full of courage and vigor. Unfortunately, his detail, like that of Michelangelo, is apt to be vulgar, and many of his buildings are spoilt by windows even worse in design than those of the top story of the Palazzo Farnese. His chief works are Blenheim Palace (Figs. 201, 202), Castle Howard, Seaton Delaval (Fig. 200), Grimsthorpe, and the ugly part of Greenwich Hospital. Of these, Castle Howard is the most agreeable, but it can hardly be called a good design. The best feature is the basement on the garden front, which is happy both in proportions and detail. Blenheim is strong enough, but very ugly. Its architect shows himself deficient in that indefinable quality, so indispensable in domestic architecture, which we know as taste. His accents are badly distributed. He is



FIG. 190.—HOLKHAM HOUSE, NORFOLK. (KENT.)

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FIG. 191.—KEDLESTON HALL, DERBYSHIRE. (PAINE AND R. ADAM.)

robust where he should be playful, decorative where he should be severe, simple where a little elaboration was clearly invited. The other men named above were more timid than Vanbrugh, but most of them had much better taste. Lord Burlington produced several excellent designs, the best being his own house in Piccadilly, which is now divided between the Royal Academy and the children in Battersea Park. Hardly less excellent is the design he made for the great dormitory of Westminster School. By Kent, his intimate friend and perpetual guest, the best things are Holkham House (Fig. 190), the Horse Guards (Fig. 189), and the unfinished Treasury building on the south side of the Horse Guards parade. The western front of the Horse Guards is an excellent design. The front toward Whitehall is less successful, because the architect has failed to provide any æsthetical bond of union between its parts. There is a happy mean between the total concealment and the brazen display of structure, which Kent has missed in Whitehall, although he had hit it off exactly in St. James's Park. Hawksmoor, the direct pupil of Wren, produced two original designs in St. George's, Bloomsbury, and St. Mary Woolnoth, at the end of Lombard Street, and a not ineffective piece of eccentricity in the towers of All Souls at Oxford. The best, and best known, works of Gibbs are two London churches, St. Mary-le-Strand (Fig. 188) and St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and the



FIG. 192.—MANSION HOUSE, LONDON.
(GEORGE DANCE, THE ELDER.)

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FIG. 193.—CUSTOMS HOUSE, DUBLIN. (GANDON.)

surroundings the design stands far enough apart from the routine conceptions which too often mark the style. The Radcliffe Library shows the same taste and intelligence. The imagination refuses to conceive any other sort of building in this position and *entourage*. Gibbs's design for the Senate House at Cambridge was never completely carried out. The existing block is only one-third of what was originally intended. The principal works of Colin Campbell are Mereworth, Kent; Houghton, Norfolk; and Wanstead, in Essex, now destroyed. By Archer we have Cliveden House and St. John's Church, Westminster—"the kitchen table on its back"; by James, St. George's, Hanover Square; and by Vardy the excellent park front of Spencer House, St. James's (Fig. 199). By the two Dances, father and son, are the



FIG. 195.—BANK OF IRELAND. (CASTELL.)

Radcliffe Library at Oxford (Fig. 196). Of all Wren's successors, Gibbs shows the largest share of that gift for adapting art to conditions in which Sir Christopher was unrivalled. The Church of St. Mary-le-Strand, with her skirts gathered about her like a lady in a crowd, has now lost some of the significance derived from the former conditions of the site, but even in its changed



FIG. 194.—ST. CLEMENT DANES, LONDON. (WREN AND GIBBS.)

Mansion House (Fig. 192) and the late Newgate Prison respectively. The latter was a really fine design, and its disappearance is a disaster for London, in spite of its ungentle associations.

Wren and his immediate successors had, for the time, so completely supplied English wants in grandiose architecture, that the generation which began

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to come into the world with the arrival of the Hanoverian Kings found comparatively little to do. Between the death of Queen Anne and the end of the eighteenth century a large number of fine country houses and metropolitan churches were erected, indeed, but the rebuilding of Somerset House was the only national work of any great importance. To this statement, however, the creation of Bath by the two Woods, father and son, provides a collective exception. Without containing any design of conspicuous merit, the



FIG. 106.—OXFORD, RADCLIFFE LIBRARY. (GIBBS.)



FIG. 107.—TOWN HALL, ABINGDON.

city is full of happy arrangement

and pleasant architecture. The best single design, perhaps, is that of the Guildhall, by Baldwin, the Woods's successor. This building was added to, by the late James Brydon, with excellent taste. The erection of Blenheim Palace, too, by Sir John Vanbrugh, may perhaps be called a national undertaking, although the belief that it was a free gift from the nation to the great Duke is not so well founded as we might wish it to be.

The great national opportunity of the

century came with the rebuilding of Somerset House at the beginning of its last quarter. The work of Chambers has been much criticised, chiefly because it fails to make the most of the conditions. The block which lies between the great court and the Strand deserves nothing but praise; but the long front on the



FIG. 108.—CASINO, NEAR DUBLIN. (SIR WILLIAM CHAMBERS.)

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river (Fig. 187), good as it is, might have been so much more effective, that our gratitude to the architect is far from unalloyed. The



FIG. 199.—SPENCER HOUSE, ST. JAMES'S, LONDON.
(VARDY.)

terrace before it is too wide, and reduces its height, the sky line is bad, and the flat dome, though good in proportion, proclaims the meanness of its materials. An exquisite and little known design by Chambers is the Casino, near Dublin (Fig. 193), built for the first Earl of Charlemont. Dublin itself is full of good work which owed much to his inspiration. The Customs House, by his pupil Gandon, is a charming composition. The "Four Courts," which

owes its existing form to Gandon, is severely dignified, and the parts he added to the Parliament House, now the Bank of Ireland, are worthy of the rest. The main quadrangle of Trinity College was carried out by Mayer from sketches by Chambers.

Much good work in Dublin, and in Ireland generally, is to be traced to the pupils of the brothers Adam, who embodied the last living force in the English Renaissance before the archæological period set in. In London, the Adams, of whom Robert was the ruling spirit, built the Adelphi, two sides of Fitzroy Square,



FIG. 200.—SEATON DELAVAL. (VANBRUGH.)

most of Portland Place, and many isolated houses of merit, such as Mrs. Montagu's in Portman Square. A curious want of internal peace marks the art of these *ἀδελφοί*. As *ornemanistes* they were refined to a

fault, seeing in decoration a surface beauty comparable to the gold lace of a sergeant-major. As architects, on the other hand, they

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FIG. 201.—ELEVATION OF BLENHEIM. (VANBRUGH.)

are frequently over-bold, exercising a mistaken ingenuity in forcing a monumental gloss upon a frivolous structure, and driving half a dozen little features under some great mask with which they are not in sympathy. From this it results that their most satisfactory productions are monumental designs on which little or no ornament occurs. Much good work in Edinburgh is theirs, the best things, perhaps, being Charlotte Square, the Register House, and

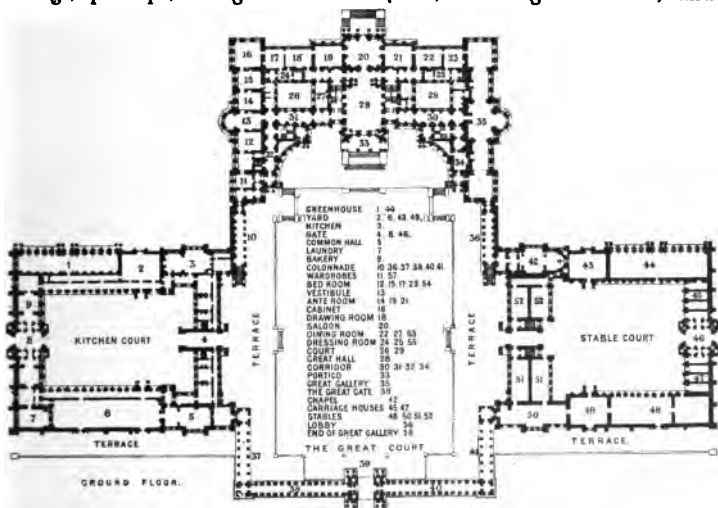


FIG. 202.—BLENHEIM, PLAN. (VANBRUGH.) Scale: about 230 feet to an inch.

the "College" (Fig. 203), to which an excellent finish has been given within recent years by the addition of Sir Rowand Anderson's dome. In the south, the best examples, perhaps, are Kenwood, Luton House, and the old Mansion—now, however, removed,

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I believe—at Bryanston Park, Dorset. In most of these we have to lament a want of congruity between the scale and simplicity of the architecture as a whole, and the complicated smallness of its decorative system. Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire, has to be divided between three architects, of whom J. Paine, whose portrait by Sir Joshua hangs at Oxford, probably deserves most credit. But Robert Adam carried the house to completion. Robert Adam and his brothers were more than architects. They were the authors of a movement in design which effected every object of domestic use that was not purely and



FIG. 203.—THE "COLLEGE," EDINBURGH.
(R. ADAM AND SIR ROWAND ANDERSON.)

exclusively utilitarian. It is scarcely too much to say that their ideas controlled the domestic arts of these islands from about 1775 to the beginning of the long peace, in 1815.

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FIG. 204.—KIRKBY HALL, NORTHANTS.



FIG. 205.—THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT. (SIR CHARLES BARRY.)

CHAPTER X

THE CLASSIC AND GOTHIC REVIVALS

THE wave of devotion to all things classic which passed over the continent of Europe at the end of the eighteenth century destroyed English architecture with its backwash. The inheritors of the traditions of Jones and Wren died out, and were succeeded by scholars and archæologists. The classic movement had, perhaps, begun in this country, with the researches of James Stuart and Nicholas Revett and the publication of their *Antiquities of Athens* in 1762. Stuart built a house in St. James's Square, which was probably the first concrete result of the movement. But without the fillip given by the French Revolution and the vogue it brought to everything which could be called classical, the eclipse of old models and traditional ideas would never have become so complete and disastrous as it did.

It was disastrous in many ways. It brought into fashion a style of building unsuited to the habits of the English people and the climate of their country. It created a propensity toward revivals. It debased taste and substituted the archæologist for the artist—and, finally, it spoilt building, for when men copy they are apt to do so



FIG. 206.—ST. GEORGE'S HALL, LIVERPOOL. (ELMES.)

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FIG. 207.—GREAT HALL, PENRHYN CASTLE.
(HOPPER.)

in inferior materials.¹ The last evil, however, may have been a blessing in disguise, for the brick and stucco in which so much pseudo-classical building of the early nineteenth century was carried out is making our task easier in clearing it away and replacing it with something better.

During the whole of the long period which elapsed between the building of Somerset House and that return to the Jones-Wren tradition which marked the end of the nineteenth century, English architecture was in a non-natural and insincere condition. Buildings were designed by men who

had to keep one eye on artificial conditions and the other on the nature of the case. In the first half of the century they were contriving the best churches, houses, railway stations, compatible with obedience to Doric or Ionic rules; in the second half, their incubus was the precedent set by the cathedral-builders of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, modified and complicated by examples taken from various architectural centres on



FIG. 208.—ST. GEORGE'S, DONCASTER.
(SIR G. G. SCOTT.)



FIG. 209.—MANCHESTER TOWN HALL.
(WATERHOUSE.)

¹It was gravely proposed, in the flood of the classical revival, to transform the Gothic of Oxford into Greek, by means of stucco columns, pediments, and pilasters!

THE CLASSIC AND GOTHIC REVIVALS

the continent of Europe. As time went on, they did much better under the latter tyranny than under the former. The better results of the Gothic revival are probably the best things to which an antiquarian spirit has ever led in art, and far excel the most successful achievements of the pseudo-classicist. So good are they, indeed, that they are often criticised as too good, and likely to seduce the learned New Zealander of a distant future into accepting them as genuine relics from the Gothic centuries.

To treat all these galvanizings of the dead as part of the live stem of British art would be absurd. They are divagations from it and impediments to its growth. The whole period in which they occurred has been branded by a distinguished professor as "Chaos." All that need be said is to note their occurrence, mentioning some of the real artists who contrived to show their mettle in spite of the conditions, and a few of the best works they produced.

Among the chief buildings of the classical revival are St. Pancras Church, which would be a good imitation of a Greek temple externally were it not for the steeple; the Bank of England; the British Museum; the entrance to Euston Station; the Athenæum Club; the arches at Hyde Park Corner; the Fitzwilliam Museum, at Cambridge; various public buildings in Edinburgh and Glasgow; and St. George's Hall, at Liverpool. The last named, the work of a young architect named Elmes, is perhaps the most successful adaptation of classical models to modern uses yet made in Europe. If its lot had been cast in a sunny climate and a smokeless city it would



FIG. 210.—THE LAW COURTS. CENTRAL HALL. (STREET.)



FIG. 211.—EXETER COLLEGE CHAPEL. (SIR G. G. SCOTT.)

ART IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND



FIG. 212.—THE LAW COURTS, STRAND ENTRANCE. (STREET.)

canals. It is exemplified chiefly in the works of Sir Charles Barry (Bridgewater House, Reform Club, Travellers' Club, Halifax Town Hall, 10 Kensington Palace Gardens); C. R. Cockerell (University Galleries, Oxford; Sun Fire Office, Threadneedle Street); Sir James Pennethorne; the two Smirkes, and others.

The original begetter of the Gothic revival in England was, no doubt, Horace Wal-

pole, whose toy of Strawberry Hill was slowly elaborated between 1760 and 1770. He had, of course, been preceded by Wren, whose quasi-Gothic, however, was inspired by anything rather than by a desire to breathe life into a vanished form of art. Strawberry Hill set a fashion which slowly made its way toward the status of a serious movement. The country was sprinkled over with churches and mansions on which some supposed-to-be-



FIG. 213.—KEBLE COLLEGE CHAPEL, OXFORD. (BUTTERFIELD.)



FIG. 214.—CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, RED LION SQUARE. (PEARSON.)

pole, whose toy of Strawberry Hill was slowly elaborated between 1760 and 1770. He had, of course, been preceded by Wren, whose quasi-Gothic, however, was inspired by anything rather than by a desire to breathe life into a vanished form of art. Strawberry Hill set a fashion which slowly made its way toward the status of a serious movement. The country was sprinkled over with churches and mansions on which some supposed-to-be-

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Gothic badge — pointed windows, spiky pinnacles, crenellations — had been hung. But meanwhile the young men had been learning, and by the time the movement was just one century old, they had mastered their business and were at last ready to break a lance with the real old Gothic architects.

During the period of apprenticeship a certain number of works had been carried out which should not be ignored. The Church of St. Luke, Chelsea, had been built, and was considered, at the time, a wonderful exercise in Perpendicular; Windsor Castle had been remodelled, almost rebuilt, by Sir Jeffrey Wyatville, who on the whole acquitted himself of his very difficult task with more success than might have been expected. The old Palace of Westminster had been burnt down and a gorgeous successor erected on its site. Thanks to the organising power of Barry, the archaeological knowledge of Pugin, and the taste of both, this last enterprise ended in the greatest success ever scored under similar conditions. Looked at with the eye of the archaeological purist the Houses of Parliament were designed at least a quarter of a century too soon. They are without Gothic frankness, and variety. But they are extraordinarily well arranged; they are grandiose; and their details—even to such magnificent details as the two great towers—are full of beauty. Perhaps the one great fault committed by Barry, from his own point of view, was the failure to bring the central block of the river-front out to the edge of the terrace, and to connect it with the water by a noble flight of steps. A palace standing



FIG. 215.—DESIGN FOR BELFRY, CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD. (BODLEY.)

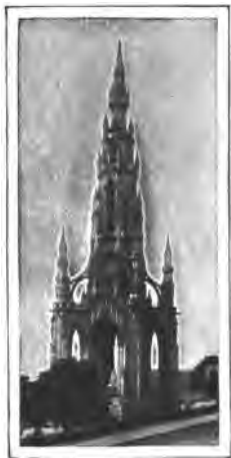


FIG. 216.—SCOTT MONUMENT, EDINBURGH. (KEMP.)



FIG. 217.—WESTMINSTER CATHEDRAL, PORCH.
(BENTLEY.)

the true principles were only to be found in the buildings of the fourteenth century. For a time this belief governed the situation, although a certain number of practitioners wandered after strange gods, in the Gothic of Germany, Venice, and Spain. Putting aside Pugin, the forerunner, the men who first attracted attention about the time when the last stone was being set on the Victoria Tower (1860-61) were those to whom the successful imitation of Gothic architecture in this country will in future be credited. They were Raphael Brandon, the architect of the Irvingite church in Gordon Square; G. E. Street, that demon of energy to whom we owe the Law Courts (Fig. 210-12), the additions to Bristol Cathedral, and a Gothic design for a National Gallery;



FIG. 218.—TRINITY CHURCH, SLOANE STREET. (SEDDING.)

on a river's edge and yet cut off from it by a wall is like a bather who fears to wet her feet!

By the time the Houses of Parliament were finished, the Gothic revival had proceeded so far that the style in which they were designed had already become anathema with the younger Gothic architects. These had re-surveyed the whole field of pointed architecture, and had determined that

Butterfield, the creator of All Saints', Margaret Street, and of Keble College, Oxford (Fig. 213); Pearson, the architect of Truro Cathedral, of the Church of St. John the Evangelist in Red Lion Square (Fig. 214), and of the north porch of Westminster Abbey; Burges, whose most important works are the Cathedral of St. Finn Bar, at Cork, and Cardiff Castle; Sir

Gilbert Scott, the most active of them all, who is at his best in the interior of Exeter College Chapel (Fig. 211), in Doncaster Parish Church (Fig. 208), in St. Michael's, Hamburg, and in St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh; Brooks, who is well represented by the Church of St. Columba, N. London; Bodley, the architect of Eccleston Church and the most sympathetic and justly inspired of them all, whose fine project for the bell tower of Christ Church, Oxford, is not yet completely carried out (Fig. 215); Goldie, the architect of St. Vincent's, Cork; Sir Arthur Blomfield, who built the existing nave of St. Saviour's, Southwark, and many churches; and a great number of others.

Beside these men, certain architects were at work who used Gothic forms in a freer and more arbitrary fashion, generally with a plentiful want of success. The most conspicuous of these was Alfred Waterhouse, who reached through energy and business capacity a vogue to which his purely artistic gifts scarcely entitled him. Oxford, Edinburgh, Manchester (Fig. 209), and London have suffered greatly from his activity.

The last phase of the



FIG. 219.—WESTMINSTER CATHEDRAL, NAVE.
(BENTLEY.)



FIG. 220.—WESTMINSTER CATHEDRAL, BRAMPTON
CHAPEL.

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FIG. 221.—RYLAND'S LIBRARY,
MANCHESTER.

(BASIL CHAMPNEYS.)

Gothic Revival is an echo from the Tudor chaos. In it Gothic detail is used in a masterful, arbitrary fashion, and too often with a complete disregard for beauty and for that logical articulation which makes one form the natural outcome of another. Anything uglier, for instance, than the window tracery, or more unreasonable than the filling in of the spandrels to the nave arches, in the much admired Church of the Holy Trinity, Chelsea (Fig. 218), by Sedding, it would be difficult to name. Freedoms as great have been taken by Mr. Mackenzie in his Marischall College, Aberdeen (Fig. 222), but there a sense of beauty governs the whole—as it does

the interior of the Rylands Library, at Manchester (Fig. 221), by Mr. Basil Champneys, and the design for the exterior of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, by Sir Rowand Anderson.

The fashion-curve in the Gothic revival is curious. It began with Perpendicular, sank—or rose—steadily to the earliest forms of Pointed, and then as steadily reversed the process, until now it is back at the mixture of Perpendicular with Renaissance in which the first death of Gothic occurred. On the whole, perhaps, the modern architect who has been most successful in the free, one might almost say the irresponsible, use of those mixed forms which first prevailed in England in Elizabethan and Jacobæan times, is Mr. T. G. Jackson, whose genius is gifted with a quite remarkable flexibility. His work at Oxford—and elsewhere—is a singularly happy continuation of local traditions.

The Classical revival, like the Gothic, survives to-day in a certain number of buildings in which its forms are used with as much freedom as is compatible with their genesis, and with a flexibility which is quite new. One of the best examples is the new building for the Glasgow Assurance Company (Fig. 223), in Euston Square, by Professor Beresford Pite, in which a Greek severity is relieved by touches of free design skilfully grafted on the main conception.

Here, perhaps, is the place to note the fact that all these revivals were carried on to an accompaniment of protest from those

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who insisted that architecture, like other arts, but perhaps in even greater degree, should express the living ideas of its own time. Such a contention is so indefeasible as to be a truism, for no architecture, seriously intended, can fail to be the expression of its age. When classical scholarship and archaeology are the leading intellectual preoccupations of a generation, they are bound to find expression in its art, and to become, in their way, valuable documents for the future. It is the same with restoration. In a restoring age we must restore: only, let us be very curious as to the rights of each case before proceeding to action. If an example of architecture be famous for qualities which cannot be restored—for its associations or the glory placed upon it by time—let us leave it alone. But if it be famous for the beauty of its design—like the Angel Tower of Canterbury—or for the part it plays in a group—like the Venetian Campanile—the best restoration to be compassed is clearly demanded. Our failure or success in the task will be judged by posterity, and will form part of the permanent badge of our age. The moral of all this is that it is of little use to try to enforce upon any art principles which are not in sympathy with the intellectual character of the time. The nineteenth century as a whole, was a fine, critical and inquiring century, much more addicted to finding out causes than to producing new results, and much of its art, especially in those branches which are most easily touched by scholarship, was scientific rather than æsthetic in its inspiration. In an attempt to follow the internal development, natural unconscious growth of British architecture, it is of assistance only through the light it casts on English character and habits of thought. One of the most salient features it betrays is, unhappily, a fault: that of instability. The French instinct, or perhaps reasoned-out determination, is to cling to all the fertile strains in their own tradition. That instinct has been and still is one of the chief causes of their general supremacy in art life as a

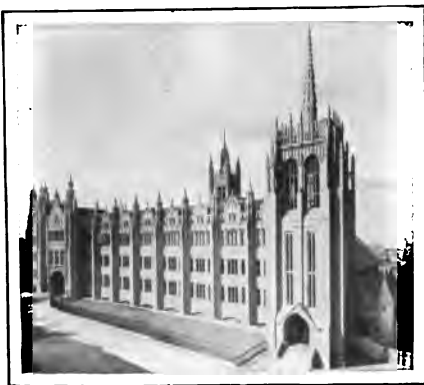


FIG. 222.—MARISCHALL COLLEGE, ABERDEEN.
(MARSHALL-MACKENZIE.)

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whole. A French architect with a problem to solve is content with what has become the national vernacular. He introduces only such modifications as are required by the special conditions. Hence there is a natural continuity and affiliation in his forms which is not, and never has been, so marked in English building. That we have the qualities of our defects is only a partial consolation, and the possession of a certain number of structures in which an eclectic method has been used with extraordinary skill, scarcely makes up for the absence of such a body of homogeneous art as French Renaissance architecture.

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FIG. 223.—GLASGOW ASSURANCE BUILDING, EUSTON SQUARE.
(BERESFORD PITE.)



FIG. 224.—TOWN HALL, BELFAST. (SIR E. BRUMWELL-THOMAS.)

CHAPTER XI

MODERN RENAISSANCE

ROUGHLY speaking, the full Gothic revival prevailed for about a generation. It was then challenged by what was called "Queen Anne," a style compounded of various features taken from Jones and Wren, their followers, and the architects of Belgium and Holland. The first building in the new manner to attract much attention was New Zealand Chambers, in Leadenhall Street (Fig. 225). It was the work of Richard Norman Shaw, an architect of genius, who has, ever since, been accepted as the chief leader in the movement. His next important work in London was the insurance office at the junction of St. James's Street and Pall Mall, in which the Flemish influence is very strong. At a long interval this was followed by the clumsily named New Scotland Yard, a robust exercise in a more English dialect; and that again, after several years, by those designs for remodelling whole districts of London, of which the chief results, at present, are the Gaiety Theatre (Fig. 230) and the Piccadilly Hotel (Fig. 226). Meanwhile Mr. Shaw



FIG. 225.—NEW ZEALAND CHAMBERS,
LEADENHALL STREET.
(NORMAN SHAW.)

ART IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND



FIG. 226.—THE PICCADILLY HOTEL.
(NORMAN SHAW.)

conviction that their true course is to return to the path pointed out by Jones and Wren, and to develop that form of Palladian which was shown by the works of those two men to be suited to our wants, character, and climate. During the last ten or fifteen years many important buildings have been erected, in London and the provinces, in a style which may be fairly called the legitimate

has been extremely active in the country, building a large number of country houses, in which ideas taken from French châteaux, Belgian hôtels-de-ville, and the earlier English Renaissance have been used with great skill, vigor, and originality. The general movement of his art has been from the picturesque eclecticism with which he began to something more in harmony with the genius of Inigo Jones.

And in this he has carried English architecture as a whole with him. For at last our best architects, who are, in great part, his disciples, appear to have settled down to the



FIG. 227.—KINMEL PARK. (NESFIELD.)



FIG. 228.—NEW COLLEGE OF SCIENCE, SOUTH KENSINGTON.
(SIR ASTON WEBB.)

offspring of our two great architects. Within our limits it is impossible to give even a bare list of them all, and I must be content with naming a few of the most successful. Mr. Belcher, who is conspicuous for the flexibility of his designing power, is responsible for the Institute of Chartered Accountants (Fig. 231) and Electra House

MODERN RENAISSANCE

(Fig. 233) both in the City, as well as for a number of buildings in which something that approaches a new style—begotten, apparently, of a sneaking kindness for the new art of Germany—is employed. Of this the newest examples are Mappin's shop in Oxford Street, the Medical Association building in the Strand, and the Office at the North-Western corner of St. James's Street, which devotes the last corner of that "celebrated eminence" to insurance. The chief objection to these designs is one based on the practical limitations of the human mind!

If an architect could invent a whole style, from initial principles to the last decorative detail, he would be free to design as he pleased. But so far no such man has appeared in this world. The most daring innovator has found himself admitting parts of the old language, twisting them away from their significance, and, generally, substituting his own *sic volo* for a comprehensible relation between form and purpose. Here and there in London streets signs are to be found that this later style has drawn followers after it. The more traditional method governs the late Mr. Mountford's Central Criminal Court, Mr. Marshall-Mackenzie's Waldorf Hotel (Fig. 229), and a large number of other buildings by which our streets are being rapidly transformed.

An important group of designs are those connected with that outburst of official activity in



FIG. 229.—THE WALDORF HOTEL.
(MARSHALL-MACKENZIE.)



FIG. 230.—THE GAIETY THEATRE.
(NORMAN SHAW.)

ART IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

building which may possibly, in the future, come to be looked upon as the chief claim to our gratitude of the governments between 1895 and 1906.



FIG. 231.—INSTITUTE OF CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS. (BELCHER.)

Mr. William Young became known through the work he did at Gosford, Midlothian, at Culford, Suffolk, and at Glasgow. His Town Hall (Fig. 232) in the latter city is not entirely satisfactory, mainly because the chief front compares unfavorably with the sides. But on the whole the building is magnificent, inside and out, without being vulgar or overcharged. When it was resolved that the disgraceful rookery in Pall Mall, which

had so long done duty as a War Office, should disappear and be succeeded by a palace in Whitehall, the resolution to entrust a proved architect with the commission was not surprising. The Admiralty had been the result of a competition, and had given London a most convenient office, but had saddled it with some very bad architecture. So Young was entrusted with the War Office, and J. C. Brydon, another



FIG. 232.—GLASGOW TOWN HALL.
(YOUNG.)

Scot, was commissioned to provide the group of offices for the Board of Trade, Local Government Board, etc., at the corner of Parliament Street and Parliament Square. Young's War Office (Fig. 234) is open to criticism for a certain want of congruity between design and purpose, but on the whole it has largeness and dignity and is free from that pattern-book character which degrades so much London architecture. Brydon's palace strikes a different

MODERN RENAISSANCE

note. Commonplace enough in general conception, it wins respect by the refinement of its details and their happy distribution. The circular court may have been inspired by Inigo Jones, but is far inferior to the corresponding feature in that great artist's Whitehall. A third structure, undertaken at about the same time as these two, is the new College of Science at South Kensington, in which Sir Aston Webb, continuing his progress away from the paralysing influence of Waterhouse, produced a building in which little but true Renaissance feeling is to

be detected (Fig. 228). A still further step in the same direction may be traced in his design for the very ingenious structure now being erected at the end of the Mall, which is to house the First Lord and First Naval Lord of the Admiralty, and to disguise the break of axis in the avenue from Queen Victoria's statue to that of Charles the Martyr. The more private buildings which have been erected at the same time as all these public structures are distinguished, for the most part, by respect for the tradition of English renaissance.

Experiments in styles drawn from climates very different from ours are much less frequent than they were, and Gothic has practically disappeared from the secular field. Among the better designs which have been carried out since the new spurt began, we may name Mr. Reginald Blomfield's club house at the corner of Suffolk Street and Pall



FIG. 233.—"ELECTRA" BUILDING.
(BELCHER.)



FIG. 234.—THE WAR OFFICE. (YOUNG.)

ART IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND



FIG. 235.—UNITED KINGDOM
PROVIDENT INSTITUTION.
(H. T. HARE.)

be erected on the south side of the river from the designs of Mr. Ralph Knott. It will have a touch of the right kind of originality in its design, the want of which is the chief defect of Sir E. Brumwell Thomas's rather splendid Town Hall at Belfast (Fig. 224). Here the reliance on Wren is carried, perhaps, just a shade too far. It cannot be



FIG. 237.—UNITED UNIVERSITY CLUB.
(REG. BLOMFIELD.)

Mall (Fig. 237), Mr. F. E. Williams's blocks in Regent Street and St. James's Street, Mr. Atkinson's great red and white shop in Oxford Street, and Mr. Keen's Baptist Church House, in Holborn. A large number of other buildings have been put up in London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and elsewhere, during the last decade, which give evidence of good training, skill, and readiness to think. Examples of this will be found among the illustrations to this chapter. Within the next few years we are promised another serious addition to our public monuments in the County Hall, to



FIG. 235.—SHOP, WIGMORE
STREET.
(WALLACE AND GIBSON.)

denied, however, that its Town Hall does as much for Belfast as St. Paul's for London.

While these men and many others have been helping to reestablish the English tradition, a good deal of mistaken skill has been lavished on structures of a very debatable character, such as the Imperial Institute, the new Victoria and Albert Museum, and the new Cath-

MODERN RENAISSANCE

dral of Westminster—of these, the two last give evidence of great ability on the part of their creators, but the designs of both suffer from the same radical defect. There is not enough congruity between their scope and purpose as a whole, and the style and distinction of their external architecture. A museum consisting of a few enormous halls has no business with domes, minarets, and pagodas on its roof. These falsify its declaration of purpose and interfere with that even distribution of light which is one of the first requirements of exhibition rooms. Still less should a church, consisting of a single imposing hall, be packed externally with a crowd of small annexes, inorganic in arrangement, and over-delicate in detail. The ex-



FIG. 239.—INSURANCE BUILDING, EDINBURGH. (J. M. DICK-PEDDIE.)

quisite taste, however, of the late Mr. Bentley's detail, goes far toward justifying the erection of a Byzantino-Italian Cathedral almost in the shadow of Westminster Abbey. But perhaps the most important, and certainly the most successful, movement in the latest phase of British architecture, has been that illustrated by the countless country houses, large and small, erected during the last quarter of a century. Good planning has been a virtue of English house-building for many generations, and now to that virtue thoughtfully significant architecture has been added. The styles most commonly used are a playful form of English Palladian and a development from the late Tudor, by which it was immediately preceded. We may give as



FIG. 238.—DOORWAY, NEWGATE STREET.



FIG. 240.—DOORWAY. (LANCHESTER AND RICKARDS.)

ART IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND



FIG. 241.—CHAMBERS IN ST. JAMES'S STREET.
(NORMAN SHAW.)

examples of the two styles the new house at Bryanston Park built for Lord Portman by Mr. Norman Shaw and the house in Kensington Palace Gardens designed for Lord Carlisle by Mr. Philip Webb.

A development which makes less figure in the world, but can by no means be passed over in silence, is that which is connected with the designing of small houses, small churches, small public buildings, in villages and country towns. A generation

ago as little thought as possible was spent on such erections, which

were turned out on much the same principle as quartern loaves! A great change has now taken place—all over the country these modest undertakings are being carried out in a spirit which at least makes for art—often, indeed, we find their creators falling into an almost excusable mistake, and attempting to make some village church or hall carry more design than it will bear. But the old indifference is dead, or at least moribund, and hundreds of illustrations might now be quoted of modest opportunities happily used.



FIG. 243.—COMMERCIAL BANK OF SCOTLAND, GLASGOW.
(SIDNEY MITCHEL.)

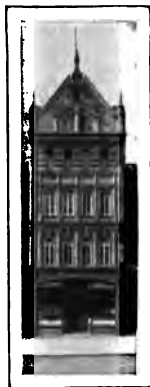


FIG. 242.—SHOP,
EDINBURGH.

MODERN RENAISSANCE

In this respect the palm of priority must be awarded to Scotland. There—perhaps as a result of the “feuing” system, so much more favorable to the tenant than that of “building-leases”—evidence of thought in design and care in execution has been visible much longer than in England. Scottish architects, however, are much less eclectic than English; they have an almost French respect for tradition, and variety is vastly more conspicuous south of the Tweed than north. The result is that Scotland, as a whole, is singularly free from those excursions into exotic forms of building which disfigure all the greater English cities. Practically, the only vagary of which she has to repent is the endeavor which followed on the christening of Edinburgh as the Northern Athens, to naturalize Grecian architecture in that city and—of all places—in smoky Glasgow. That this attempt was made with no little skill must be allowed, but its results, especially in the commercial capital, are not a little depressing.



FIG. 244.—CHIMNEY PIECE.
(NORMAN SHAW.)

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FIG. 245.—ARUNDEL MANUSCRIPT NO. 83: FOLIO 131B. (British Museum.)



FIG. 246.—PSALTER, COTTON MS.
NERO C. XIV. (British Museum.)



FIG. 247.—ARUNDEL MANUSCRIPT,
83: FOLIO 132. (British Museum.)

CHAPTER XII

CERTAIN MINOR ARTS

IRONWORK

IN a handbook professing to deal with the Fine Arts, no great space can be afforded for those minor activities which, at their best, cannot shake themselves free from utilitarian conditions. And yet, in the case of the British Islands, they cannot be passed over in silence, for they help to fill the gap which has already been so often alluded to.

Much has been said of the artistic industries of these islands during the long periods which elapsed before the higher forms of art began to develop at all. Some account has now to be given of certain activities practised in later times, side by side with the greater arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting.

Few industries are more fascinating than that based on iron. The most widely distributed of metals, iron is the most adaptable of all to man's various wants. On the other hand, it is remarkably perishable if not carefully nursed. It is chiefly in consequence of this latter defect that archaeologists are still able to differ so profoundly on the questions of how long it has been used, and how widely its use

ART IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

was distributed at various epochs. It appears to be fairly certain that the Egyptians were acquainted with it at least as early as 2000 B.C.¹



FIG. 248.—TOMB OF
QUEEN ELEANOR.
(Westminster Abbey.)

According to their own statements, which, however, are not to be implicitly relied on, the Chinese knew it at least as soon. In Mesopotamia its use cannot be surely traced beyond about 1000 B.C. In Syria it was known somewhat earlier, in Greece perhaps earlier still, and in India at least as early as in Greece. How soon iron working entered into the metallurgy of Western Europe is still uncertain, our damper climates being more destructive of evidence than those of the East. The Phocæans of Marseilles worked iron mines in Spain as early as between 600 and 500 B.C. The excavations at Bibracte have revealed an ancient Sheffield, where

iron and even steel were manufactured. The Gauls were famous for their skill in working iron long before the days of Cæsar, and the Britons were probably but little their inferiors. In both countries iron was used as a medium of exchange in the form of rings. The climate of these islands is such that very few objects have survived from those Roman days which have yielded rich harvests further south. A folding chair with bronze enrichments, a few andirons, candelabra, and hinges complete our catalogue. Coming down to later centuries, when varying influences from without—Scandinavian, Danish, Saxon—had their effects, we find that the progress of iron-working is still to be chiefly traced in hinges. These were more easily preserved than other objects. They were securely fixed to timber, and were often protected from rust. They seem to have taken on an elaborate form sooner in these islands than elsewhere, and as a natural consequence preserved the utilitarian basis of their ornament longer. Their elementary form was that of an iron strap embracing the door on both sides and folded near its centre round the pivot let into the jamb. To this were added side-pieces, often in the form of a crescent, which gave a stronger hold on the timber. The junction of these straps with the socket itself was protected, in the case of English doors, by the overlapping of the jamb, which put the

¹ The contention that as they were able to carve diorite, syenite, porphyry, and other hard rocks many centuries before 2000 B.C., they must have known and used iron, is quite inconclusive; for given unlimited time and patience, which we know the Egyptians were always ready to put into their work, the hardest rocks can be shaped without iron.

IRONWORK

weakest part of the combination well out of reach of violence. An interesting early example of this arrangement is to be seen on the door of Stillingfleet Church, Yorkshire, where the working parts are combined with the representation of a viking ship and other signs meant to act as charms. Another ancient specimen is the hinging of a door in the church of Willingale-Spain, in Essex, with which that of a door at Eastwood, near Rockford, in the same county, may be associated. Other well-known examples are at Erith, Maxstoke, Weston-Barton, Margaret Roding, Compton-Norton, Leicester, Kingston-Lisle, Sparsholt, Haddiscoe, Kenilworth, Raveningham, and the Cathedrals of Gloucester, Hereford, Peterborough, and Chichester. Some fine hinges from St. Alban's are in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

All these are examples of pure smithery, in which the iron is worked with hammer alone. They were succeeded by more complex performances in which stamps were used, the white-hot iron being driven into metal dies. This second style was carried to great perfection, or at least to great elaboration, in France, where the hinges of the great doors of Notre Dame remind us of the Roman scroll. Stamped work in England was never so ambitious. One of the finest examples is the south door leading to the cloisters, in Durham Cathedral. But this appears to be of French origin, although more English than French in design. Here the hinges still supply the chief motive, but as time went on they were frequently ignored and ironwork put on doors as mere surface decoration and reinforcement. Of this perhaps the most beautiful English example is supplied by the doorway of Worksop Priory. Here the door is double, the design resting on the vertical lines of the central opening, and ignoring the hinges. This specimen dates from about the end of the twelfth century, and gave motives to many other works of the same class in Oxfordshire, Herefordshire, Somersetshire, and elsewhere.



FIG. 249.—GATES OF ALL SOULS, OXFORD.

Less consecutive than hinges in their illustration of progress, but more important in themselves, are the grilles which formerly existed in such vast numbers in our churches and cathedrals. A peculiar viciousness seems to have been shown, at various times, in their destruction, and comparatively few have come down to our

ART IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

day. Most of those which remain are built up of iron straps turned into spirals, loops, quatrefoils, and other simple forms, held together by collars and set in rectangular iron frames protected by spikes at the top, and sometimes strengthened by flat bands of pierced iron. Good specimens are the choir grille in Lincoln Cathedral, a tomb grille at St. Albans, a grille from Chichester Cathedral in the South Kensington Museum, and the fine grille of St. Swithin, at Winchester, which is the oldest as well as the finest work of its own class now extant. It dates from the last years of the eleventh century. The most important of all remaining grilles, however, is the "herse" over Queen Eleanor's tomb in Westminster Abbey (Fig. 248). It belongs to the class of stamped work, and is the only early specimen either in England or the



FIG. 250.—SCREEN FROM ST. JOHN'S, FROME.
(Victoria and Albert Museum.)

royal domain in France (to which for a long period the method was practically confined) the date of which is known. It was made in 1294 by Thomas de Legh-
tone (Thomas of Leigh-
ton Buzzard) for the
sum of £13. A con-
sideration of dates and
other matters makes it
likely that this kind of
work originated in
England, that French

smiths seized upon it with their usual promptness, carried it to the extravagant richness of the Notre Dame hinges, and then dropped it in default of patrons for anything so costly.

The thirteenth was the blacksmith's great century. His æsthetic ambitions were then fully developed, and progress had not yet provided him with a royal road to any of his effects. All the operations which intervened between the delivery at his forge of rough bars of iron and the production of such a work as the St. Swithin's grille, had to be performed with his own hand, under the control of his own fallible but masterful eye. Putting aside stamped work, his material and his way of using it were as expressive as the painter's, and so, to the modern student, his productions have an ever-growing charm. To quote Mr. Starkie Gardiner :¹ "The quick and

¹ *Ironwork*: South Kensington Handbook, 1907.

IRONWORK



FIG. 251.—CANADA GATES, BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

decisive treatment of iron while it is transiently in a plastic condition must be regarded as the true art of the blacksmith, and of necessity leads to vigorous and masculine effects. The tools of the smithy proper consist of forge and bellows, hammer and anvil, tongs and chisels."

With the fourteenth century new methods and new tools came to complicate his practice, and to deprive it of not a little of its spontaneity and individuality. The use of iron as a decorative feature began, probably, in this country, whence it spread southward and westward. But English ironworkers lost their supremacy, partly through the general failure of art in the early fifteenth century, partly through the more active ambition of their Continental rivals. In the use of iron for purposes which exactly fitted it, they were equalled only by the French. In forcing the powers of iron, and employing it in ways better suited to wood or to more ductile materials, they were left far behind. The history of metal-working in England, as a spontaneous expression of æsthetic ideas, comes to a temporary end with the commencement of the two centuries of political and religious trouble which intervened between 1450 and 1650. In later times it was re-inspired from abroad and produced much fine work, in which the restraint and propriety of English taste is again conspicuous; but it could no longer boast any strong, native character, while it fell short of its rivals in that magnificence which in some degree atones for impropriety. In our own day ironwork, like other arts, has sprung into new and energetic life, and is producing results which are often quite admirable. The revival has much to contend with; especially in the damage done to the public taste by the presence of so many bad and ambitious designs in cast iron in conspicuous places (the Coalbrookdale gates near the Albert Memorial in Hyde Park, those in the Marble Arch and the arch at the top of Constitution Hill, for instance). But

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such iron work as the new grilles between choir and choir aisle in St. Paul's, the Canada gates (Fig. 251) at Buckingham Palace and those in the new Government Offices in Whitehall, and Bentley's beautiful bronze screen to one of the side chapels in Westminster Cathedral, are distinctly encouraging for the future.



FIG. 252.—LEAD URN,
PARHAM (BLOMFIELD).

ENAMELS.

Little if any light is thrown upon the course of the Fine Arts in this country by what is left of our native enamels. Documents, indeed, seem to prove that the *trade* of the enameller flourished here throughout the Middle Ages, but his work never appears to have risen to the confines of the Fine Arts, as it did in Italy, France, and Germany. As industrial arts, the Celtic enamellers (Figs. 253-5) occupy a high place, and in later centuries the method was effectually used for the decoration of utilitarian objects. The enamelled brasses (candlesticks, andirons, etc.) of the Tudor and Jacobæan periods are often effective, and the Battersea enamellers of the eighteenth century show a pleasing fancy allied to much skill at their *métier*, but only by the production of portrait miniatures, after the *Petitots* had shown the way, can English enamelling claim a place among the Fine Arts. During the last five and twenty or thirty years it has, of course, shared in the general revival of all forms of art, but has so far been practically restricted to decoration.



FIG. 253.—TARA BROOCH.
(Dublin Museum.)

STAINED GLASS.

Perhaps the most attractive of all the subsidiary arts is that of producing in stained and painted glass a crown and complement to architecture. Those who have wandered for hours or days in the great cathedrals which still wear their crown of color, in York, or Chartres, or Le Mans, or the comparatively humble fane at Gouda, look back, I think, on the glass as the vitalizing feature

STAINED GLASS

of the whole. It is to a church what the eye is to the human face. And yet it is, or ought to be, strictly subordinate. The architect should strike the note and the glazier dance to his pipe. Those *ensembles* are the most satisfactory in which this principle has been most intelligently followed.

Endeavors have been made to refer the art of stained-glass window-making to the East, like so many arts. Links are missing, however, in the chain of proof. The glass mosaics set in plaster tracery of Saracenic buildings are, no doubt, the offspring of an old tradition, but the desire to bring the large openings necessary in European climates into the scheme of decoration was a force unknown in the blaze of Eastern light.

The fashion in Western Europe seems to have started somewhat abruptly, and may, perhaps, be traced as much to a sudden perception that architecture might be illuminated as well as the mass books, as to a slow evolution like that of architecture itself. The earliest glass we can point to is by no means the work of men feeling their way. It has been asserted that the art was first practised in France, as early as the reign of Charlemagne. But of that there is no real evidence. The earliest glass now in existence dates from the twelfth century,¹ but very little, if any, of that date can be identified in England. The thirteenth century, however, has left us a rich legacy in glass—at Canterbury, York, Lincoln, Salisbury, etc.—and in the fourteenth, the art was more active here than elsewhere, French activity being for a time more or less arrested. It was not until the end of the thirteenth century and beginning of the fourteenth that Germany took the art seriously.

During the Perpendicular period an immense amount of glass was

¹ The Germans claim a date as early as the eleventh century for certain un-beautiful windows in Augsburg Cathedral, but the claim has not yet been generally acknowledged.



FIG. 254.—CELTIC ENAMEL, FROM POLDEN HILL
(British Museum.)



FIG. 255.—ARDAGH CHALICE.
(Dublin Museum.)

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produced in England, especially after the accession of Henry IV. This activity continued down to the Renaissance period, during which, however, much of the best glass now in this country appears to have been imported from abroad, from France and Belgium. The magnificent windows of King's College, Cambridge, were probably Flemish in their origin, although of native manufacture.¹ Contracts for them still exist. From the middle of the sixteenth century down to the middle of the nineteenth, the art was in the slough of despond. Wrong ideas prevailed for two centuries and a half, and when at last the right conception again struggled to the surface, it took a whole generation to purify itself and learn to make a window which could be looked at without horror by those familiar with ancient glass.

The art divides itself, historically, into periods corresponding to those of pointed architecture itself.



FIG. 256.—SVON COPE.
(Victoria and Albert Museum.)

As a matter of fact, its whole course, like that of the architecture to which it formed a crown, is one continuous transition, so that if life were long enough and patience inexhaustible, all the glass in the country might be arranged into an unbroken table of chronological precedence.

Speaking more or less roughly, however, Gothic glass may be thus divided :—

Early Pointed, 1180 to 1300; Decorated, 1300 to 1380; Perpendicular, 1380 to 1520.

A few fragments of a date earlier than about 1180 have been called Byzantine, while Renaissance feeling becomes so strong after 1520 that the epithet Gothic has to drop out.

The First Pointed window was a mosaic of colors, of small pieces of pot-metal glass set in strips of lead, the latter following and making out the design. The glass was also painted, but the paint was restricted to the work of helping out the forms suggested by leading and color, and was *never used as a substitute for care in the management of these latter elements*. The purely decorative parts of early windows were usually in grisaille, with little admixture of positive color. On the other hand, their pictorial parts—figures

¹ The cartoons for these windows have lately been ascribed, with some show of justification, to the Antwerp glass-painter, Dirck Jacobszonne Vellert, who was identical with the engraver known as Dirk van Staren from his monogram. (See *Burlington Magazine* for October, 1907.)

STAINED GLASS

and backgrounds—were as deep, rich, and positive in color as was consistent with transparency.

The general design of First Pointed windows falls into four classes :—

1. Windows entirely in grisaille.
2. Medallion windows, in which pictures of medallion form and character were set in a decorative framework.
3. Figure windows, with sacred personages standing under feigned canopies and in feigned architectural settings.
4. Jesse windows, in which the genealogy of Christ was set out more or less in the form of a heraldic tree.

Besides the indications given by these definitions, First Pointed glass may be distinguished by the conventional character of the detail, especially of the foliations, and by the use of hatched backgrounds, which, while lowering the general tone and pulling the design together, not only did not interfere with the brilliancy of the glass, but actually enhanced it.

The second, or Decorated, period is to be distinguished from the first by various developments.

1. Windows become more pictorial in general conception, the design being often so schemed as to embrace several "lights."
2. The colors are brighter and gayer, admitting more daylight.
3. Figures are better drawn and more naturally posed.
4. The ornamental foliage is more imitative of real plants.
5. The leading becomes actually lighter, although, in consequence of increased delicacy in the painting and the more transparent glass, it asserts itself more than before.

In England the finest Decorated glass is to be found in Merton Chapel, Oxford ; in the Chapter House, nave, and presbytery of York Minster ; at Tewkesbury, Wells, Salisbury, Gloucester, and Bristol.

The third, or Perpendicular, period is more national in its characteristics than its predecessors. An English Perpendicular window is much more easily distinguished from a contemporary French or German one than an example from the first or second period. The distinctive features are :—

1. The diminished significance of the leads, which are divorced from the design more than ever before.
2. The increased pictorial quality of the conception as a whole.
3. The presence, in the feigned architecture, of those Perpendicular elements which prevail in the real stone architecture of the same period.

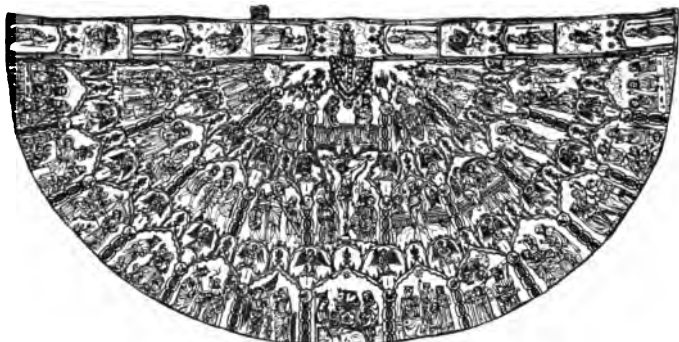


FIG. 257.—COPE OF ST. SILVESTER, ST. JOHN LATERAN, ROME.

The typical Perpendicular window represents, or suggests, a collection of niches, or screen, of silvery-white tabernacle work, filled with richly colored figures against colored backgrounds. A great window of this style is, in short, a translucent picture of one of the great architectural screens of the period, such as the Wallingford Screen at St. Albans, or the screens of Magdalen, All Souls', and New Colleges at Oxford. The combination of almost white tabernacle work with colored figures fulfils both practical and artistic requirements, for the architectonic frame lets in plenty of light, while the color decorates magnificently.

England is rich in fine glass from this third period. The city of York is a perfect museum of it; not only the Cathedral, but many other churches, especially that of All Saints, North Street, being rich in Perpendicular glass. The old windows in the ante-chapel of New College, Oxford, among which the Reynolds "Nativity" looks such an unhappy intruder, are fine specimens of the style in its early years. All Souls also has some good glass of this period; so have the Abbey Church of Great Malvern, the Cathedral at Winchester, and a very large number of other churches.

With the close of their true architectonic evolution, storied windows lost their decorative character and began a disastrous rivalry with the freest of the fine arts. Those characteristics which bound them to the architecture in which they were set were systematically suppressed. Leads were avoided as far as possible and finally disconnected from design. Pot-metal¹ was superseded by

¹Glass of which the coloring matter has been introduced among the original ingredients before fusion.

NEEDLEWORK

enameled glass, with a consequent loss both of translucence and safety. Painted detail was elaborated for its own sake, and realism introduced into elements from which it should have been carefully excluded. In England the best examples of Renaissance glass are either wholly or partially of foreign origin. Lichfield Cathedral possesses some fine Flemish windows. There are many at Oxford and Coventry. King's College Chapel, Cambridge, is a museum of Transition and Renaissance glass, dating from 1516-30.

From the end of the Perpendicular period down to late in the nineteenth century, the true architectonic art of stained-glass window-making was held down in this country by all sorts of false ideals. During the Renaissance period and the long years of unhappy experiment by which it was followed, nothing was produced with any national *cachet*. It was not until half the nineteenth century had rolled away that glimmerings of the right spirit began to show over the horizon, and foundations were laid for that evolution which has at last enabled us both to appreciate the work of our forebears and to produce something not entirely alien to it in principle.

NEEDLEWORK AND TAPESTRY.

It is doubtful, perhaps, whether any full justification can be produced for including tapestry and needlework in a manual of the fine arts. In treating British art, however, it is peculiarly desirable that they should not be passed over in silence, for they afford the best support to our contention that these islands were by



FIG. 258.—ASCOLI COPE.

no means such laggards in aesthetic activity as some of our critics, and not least our native ones, contend. They may be taken, together

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with the production of illuminated manuscripts, to show that during the ages of the untroubled Christian Church, artists were as active and numerous, proportionately, on this side of the English Channel as on the other. The works of the needle and of the illuminator's brush survive when more self-assertive things perish. Shrines, statues, stained-glass windows, are at the mercy of the fanatic's club. They can neither escape nor resist. A cope or a manuscript can do both; it can take a blow without much damage, or it can hide. As a result we have copes and manuscripts in sufficient quantity to prove that the sap of art rose vigorously in the English tree, and that if we cannot rival our nearest neighbors in the volume of our contribution to the world's treasure of mediæval art, it is less because we failed as artists, than because we had our turmoils at unlucky moments and our wealth too soon.

Spinning, weaving, and the use of the needle were known in these islands in very remote times. Perforated spindle whorls and heavy combs for driving the weft close on the warp have been found among the neolithic deposits, while discoveries made in Switzerland have proved that flaxen thread was known to the lake-dwellers. Once the knowledge of weaving established, art came as a matter of course. The use of thread could not persist very long without suggesting the first experiments in pattern, and these experiments would presently be enriched in the light of what older civilizations were doing in the same direction. The characteristic design of our earliest historical civilization appears to have been tartan, which has come down to us in a developed condition in the clan tartans of Scotland. Boadicea wore a tartan robe on the day of her disaster, as—according to Dion Cassius—did the bulk of her people. Industries like spinning, weaving, embroidering, and the making-up of stuffs so provided into garments, *involved* art, so long as the work was done by individuals, without machinery. Art did not require to be introduced. It sprang up of itself, as soon as human beings found materials between their fingers to which variety could easily be given, according to their own tastes and predilections.

One of the earliest needleworkers of whom we have any real knowledge is the Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine, and a British princess. She embroidered a figure of the Virgin which still exists in the Church of Vercelli (Bock, *Liturgische Gewänder*). Helena died in the fourth century A.D. It is probable that the women of Britain were skilled weavers and embroiderers by that time, as we know they were three centuries later. Even in the sixth century

NEEDLEWORK

classes were formed for the execution of embroideries for the Church, and long before the Norman Conquest the work of the English ladies was famous all over the Continent. The Danish inroads helped, no doubt, to confine artistic industries more closely to convents and monasteries, than in Continental countries. The most celebrated relic of ancient English needlework is the so-called Bayeux Tapestry, which is, of course, not tapestry at all. Its artistic merit is far inferior to that of other English works of about the same period, and even earlier. The beautiful Anglo-Saxon stole and maniple of St. Cuthbert, at Durham, dates from about the year 910. We know from the chronicles that the English ladies, from the highest to the lowest, were patiently piling up a great wealth of needlework all through the Gothic centuries. The names of many survive. Among them were Ælfled, Queen of Edward the Elder, whose name appears on the stole of St. Cuthbert. Another Ælfled (or Æthelfleda) gave a pictured hanging to Ely Cathedral. St. Dunstan is said to have de-



FIG. 259.—OPUS ANGLICANUM.
(British Museum.)

signed embroideries to be executed by Ædelwyrme, a noble lady of his acquaintance; Emma, wife of Ethelred, and afterward of Cnut, and Ælgiþa, Cnut's first Queen, were generous donors of embroideries to the Church; Editha, the Confessor's wife, embroidered his coronation robe. It is on record that the Conqueror and his companions were astonished by the splendid embroideries they found worn by the Saxon nobles. These the Normans and their ladies began at once to collect and imitate. It is scarcely too much to say that needlework of every kind was to the gentlewomen of Britain in the Gothic centuries what sport is in these days of progress. The wealth of the English cathedrals in all sorts of embroidery was amazing. The Lincoln catalogue shows that at the Reformation the Cathedral owned between six and seven

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hundred figured vestments, richly wrought of the finest materials, and other cathedrals were scarcely less rich.

A certain number of English embroideries have survived, mostly in cathedrals and other storehouses abroad, which go to prove by their exquisite beauty that English art was no less flourishing a tree than that of any Continental country. The cope of St. Silvester in S. Giovanni Laterano, the cope in the Bologna Town Museum, the Daroca cope at Madrid, the Syon Monastery cope in the Victoria and Albert Museum, to which I would add the famous Ascoli cope, which has seen so many curious vicissitudes, and the Toledo cope—all these and a number of less important relics show a form of art, at once national and elaborately developed, which could never have sprung up in any country but one rich in artistic industries.



FIG. 260.—DETAIL, COPE OF ST. SILVESTER, ST. JOHN LATERAN, ROME.

“Opus Anglicanum” began to be famous in the twelfth century; at least its fame then began to be so great as to win mention in the chronicles. Its vogue continued throughout the Middle Ages, and its productions were eagerly sought after all over Europe. Its characteristics were the union of fine taste in design with a quite unprecedented audacity in the plastic use of stitchery.

A fine and wonderfully well-preserved fragment (Fig. 259), dating from the fourteenth century, was given to the British Museum by the late Sir Augustus Franks, but the finest pieces are mostly in foreign treasuries. The glory of English needlework disappeared, like that of so many other artistic industries, in the first half of the fifteenth century, to be revived, indeed, under the Tudors, but then no longer in its purely national condition.

The history of tapestry in England is in the same condition as that of too many other artistic industries.

We know from documentary evidence that English looms were at work all through the Middle Ages. In 1344 a law was passed for their regulation. Fifty years later the Earl of Arundel disposed by will of a set of hangings which had been woven for him in London.

IVORIES

In 1495 a hanging was made for Canterbury Choir, which is now at Aix, in Provence. Early in the sixteenth century a manufactory was set up at Barcheston, in Warwickshire, and in the reign of James I the famous manufactory was established at Mortlake, where hangings second to none for firmness of execution and the beauty of their borders were made. Here were woven sets from the cartoons of Raphael, acquired from the Brussels weaver who had woven the set for the Sistine Chapel at Rome. These were commissioned by Charles I, who had bought the cartoons, it is said, on the advice of Rubens. Many of the tapestries themselves are now in the *Garde Meuble* at Paris. A fine suit of Mortlake tapestries is at Hardwicke Hall. One or two attempts have been made since the Mortlake enterprise came to an end to revive the art in England. The most serious of these was the founding of a low-warp manufactory at Old Windsor, some thirty years ago, with the help of workmen from Beauvais and Aubusson. Its products were good in execution, but poor in design, and its life was short.

IVORIES

Until quite recently it was the almost invariable custom to refer every northern mediæval ivory the origin of which was not *documenté* to either the French or the Flemings; and yet there is abundant proof that Gothic England possessed numbers of ivory carvers and that their productions were highly popular. The vicissitudes of the Church in this country led, of course, to the destruction of vast numbers of ecclesiastical objects, such as pastoral staves and crosiers, pixes and paxes, private shrines and altars. But enough have survived to prove that, during the great period, from about 1280 to about 1420, our native artists were not inferior to their Continental rivals in skill. During the last decade or two the characteristics of our native production have been gradually recognized. English ivories are distinguished



FIG. 261.—TAPESTRY AT HATFIELD.

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by more sobriety of conception and earnest simplicity of expression than French, Flemish, and German examples, while the architectural details introduced supply another test of origin.



FIG. 262.—IVORY TRIPTYCH.
(British Museum.)

The objects to which the mediæval ivory carver devoted himself were the same in England as elsewhere: the smaller items of church furniture; horns, to which the form of a tusk lent itself so kindly; statuettes; combs; book-covers; mirror-cases; small boxes, caskets, or pixes; chessmen, etc.

The most interesting specimen of very early carving at present known is a casket presented to the British Museum by the late Sir Augustus Franks. It is not of ivory, however, but of the bone of the whale. It has panels with scenes, probably from the Saga of Odoacer, fitted with fine decorative effect into boldly carved runic inscriptions (Imelmann). A magnificent early carving in whale's bone is the Saxon *Adoration of the Magi*, of about 1000, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (see title-page).



FIG. 263.—DEXTER LEAF
OF A DIPTYCH.
(British Museum.)

An interesting and somewhat mysterious find of ivories was the discovery, about ninety years ago, in the Lewis (Hebrides), of a large number of chessmen carved in walrus ivory. The find consisted of six kings, five queens, thirteen bishops, fourteen knights, nineteen pawns, and ten warders, the forerunners of the modern rook or castle. One would say it was the stock of some carver, who profited by the frequent opportunities of acquiring his material which occurred in that northern latitude. One of the finest examples of early English ivory carving is a fragment which appears to have been the arm of a chair, formerly in the great Meyrick collection at Goodrich Court. It is of walrus ivory and exquisite both in design and workmanship. Pastoral staves and crosiers of ivory were probably not uncommon in the Gothic centuries, but very few have survived. The Victoria and Albert Museum, however, possesses one which is closely related to the bronze

ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS

croisiers of various degrees of elaboration which have come down to us from the same period. It also possesses a wonderful diptych in open tabernacle work, in which skill and design go hand in hand.

Fine examples of the English school of the fourteenth century are in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 294) and the British Museum (Figs. 262, 263)—a triptych and one leaf of a diptych, both carved, for Bishop Grandison, of Exeter. The Gothic ivories in the Ashmolean, at Oxford, appear to be nearly all English; and good examples are now frequently being separated (as a chemist would say) from their non-English companions. A splendid diptych, *ajouré*, in the Salting collection, in an Italian frame, may be claimed as English.



FIG. 264.—PAGE FROM BOOK OF KELLS.
(Trinity College, Dublin.)

ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS.

In a comprehensive history of invention of printing, the chapter progress of that art in these Islands would be the most homogeneous and, perhaps, the most interesting of all. It would begin with the wonderful Celtic school of monastic art, which arose in the fifth century and came to long persisting perfection some two centuries later, and it would end with the first quarter of the fifteenth century, when the series of political earthquakes began which were to destroy for centuries so much of the national character of British Art. Between those two extreme dates the production of Illuminated Manuscripts went on in a line of more or less steady de-

book production before the dealing with the birth and



FIG. 265.—PAGE FROM LINDISFARNE
GOSPELS. (British Museum.)

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velopment, and during a great part of the time our scribes and decorators were doing better work than any of their rivals. We have seen that the first wave of Christianity which reached us had its most permanent effect in Ireland, where it was in some degree protected from the raiding tribes of Northern Europe, so that after a time it gathered strength enough to reëvangelize the nearer coasts of Britain. With Christianity it introduced its art, and the monasteries founded in Scotland and England became centres for the distribution of those Celtic conceptions which had been developed in peace beyond the protecting sea. The Irish Celts "had learned to produce goldsmiths' work and manuscript illuminations with such marvellous taste and skill as has never been surpassed by any age or country in the world" (Middleton). The



FIG. 266.—PAGE FROM A
CELTIC GOSPELS.
(Lambeth Palace.)

illuminators based their designs on those of the goldsmiths. In many cases, indeed, the same individual both decorated a manuscript and bound it in metal. So that a page from such a work as the *Book of Kells* is really a translation into terms of paint of notions suggested by the idiosyncrasies of metal, enamel, and precious stones. On this fact both its virtues and its shortcomings depend, its miraculous delicacy, intricacy, and yet freedom from confusion, as well as its occasional want of propriety. The *Book of Kells* was probably written between 680 and 700. Its extraordinary elaboration defies description in words—can only be appreciated, indeed, by ordinary eyesight with the help of a microscope and a great deal of patience. It has been said that the natural forms introduced show an absolute incapacity on the part of the Celtic artist to represent the human figure. I have already explained (pp. 5–7) why such



FIG. 267.—ROYAL MS. I D. X.
FOLIO 6.
(British Museum.)

incapacity should not be too readily assumed. The monastic painter was a Celt, with an eye for unity and the value of line, and was

ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS

not easily tempted to introduce disturbing elements into his designs. He did not wish to imitate the human figure, he wished merely to use it so far as it submitted to his arbitrary but rightly decorative intentions. The human figure is so interesting in itself that, once it was made use of in art, it gradually insisted on taking an ever more and more important place, but with men in whom Celtic blood predominates it continues, even to this day, essentially an element in pattern.

I have already had occasion to allude to the finest examples of Celtic illumination. They are the *Book of Kells* (Fig. 264), the perhaps earlier *Book of Durrow* (Fig. 19), the later *Book of Armagh*, the *Book of the Gospels of St. Cuthbert, or Lindisfarne MS.* (Fig. 265), the *Commentary of Cassiodorus on the Psalms*, in Durham Cathedral, and a splendid *Gospels* in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg. The last three are examples of the English school founded on the teaching of the Irish monks. They are more gorgeous



FIG. 269.—PAGE FROM APOCALYPSE, ROYAL MS. 19 B. XV.
(British Museum.)



FIG. 268.—INITIAL FROM A LATE
FOURTEENTH CENTURY MISSAL.
(British Museum.)

than the earlier MSS., chiefly through the introduction of gold and silver leaf, which the purely Irish illuminators never used. Illuminated manuscripts continued to be produced in Ireland down to the tenth century, but the later school is by no means equal to that which gave us the *Book of Kells*. The influence of the Irish illuminators was chiefly active in Scotland and in Northumbria, but it extended not only to Canterbury and other centres in Southern England, but to many places on the continent of Europe, whither it was carried by the ubiquitous Irish missionaries. The library of St. Gall owns a number of finely illuminated books of the later Irish type. Irish influence also penetrated to the Scandinavian peninsula, where typically Celtic

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forms are to be identified in the ornament of those timber churches of the eleventh and twelfth centuries which are the earliest Christian monuments in the country.

A change in the character of Anglo-Celtic illumination naturally followed the closer connection with Rome brought about by the Synod of Whitby in 664 and its logical consequences. Italian ideas modified the old Celtic conceptions, and the combination gave birth to a style which characterized English illumination during those

generations which saw it the leading school of Europe. This is noticeable in a gentle but progressive infusion of classical feeling into the treatment of figures and their draperies. The purely ornamental parts of the work retain their Celtic air for a long time, and by the time it has disappeared the classical touch has gone too, and both figures and ornament have combined to form a style in strict unity with the Gothic movement as a whole. From the end of the tenth century to the early years of the fifteenth, excepting a short eclipse after the middle of the fourteenth century, the English school of illumination was the most influential in Europe.

It was with the help of a famous English scribe and

scholar, Alcuin of York, that Charlemagne created what has been called the Anglo Carolingian school of manuscript writing and decoration. Alcuin controlled the production of a large number of manuscripts in the Benedictine monasteries of France—at Tours, Soissons, Metz, etc. He revised the *Vulgate*, and a magnificently written and illuminated copy in the British Museum is believed to be the actual copy prepared for Charlemagne. "The figure subjects are mainly classical, with fine architectural backgrounds of Roman style, drawn with unusual elaboration and accuracy, and even with fairly correct perspective. The initial letters and all the conventional ornaments show the northern artistic strain which



FIG. 270.—PAGE FROM HARLEY MS. 7026.
FOLIO 4 B.
(British Museum.)

ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS

Alcuin himself introduced from York. Delicate and complicated interlaced patterns, as were first used in the wonderful manuscripts of the Celtic monks, are freely introduced into the borders and large capitals" (Middleton).

As Northumbria had given Alcuin to Charlemagne to help in the creation of a French school of illumination, so, after the practical destruction of Northumbrian civilization in the ninth century by the Danish ruffians, the movement established by Alcuin reacted on Northumbria and re-kindled the quenched fires. And not only on Northumbria. Alfred the Great was as enthusiastic as Charles the Great in the cause of literature and art. A new school arose in his capital of Winchester and in the great Benedictine monasteries throughout the country. The Carolingian influence is to be traced in the earlier results of the new movement. The famous Chatsworth *Benedictional*, written by Godeman, chaplain to Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester, is an instance of this. In its thirty full page miniatures it combines features of the Carolingian and more exclusively English schools. Its date is about 965.

Another centre of illumination was the Benedictine Abbey of Glastonbury under St. Dunstan, himself a good artist. The Bodleian possesses a drawing of Christ with a prostrate saint at His feet, said by a twelfth century annotator to be Dunstan, by himself.

Side by side with the Anglo-Carolingian School of Winchester, a completely native school of Anglo-Saxon illuminators was at work. By the eleventh century this had reached great excellence, especially in the production of designs depending almost entirely on line for their effect. By the twelfth century these competing schools had led to a great development in the production of decorated manuscripts. All through the century the art rapidly progressed until it culminated in the splendid English illuminations of



FIG. 271.—THE POPE AND THE GOLDSMITH. (SIR DAVID WILKIE.)



FIG. 272.—ARTIST'S MOTHER. (A. GEDDES.)



FIG. 273.—ST. JACQUES, LISIEUX.
(C. J. WATSON.)

the thirteenth century, which were long without rivals in any European country. A close analysis of the best work of this century shows that Celtic, Anglo-Saxon and Norman traditions all contributed to its final excellence, although the influence of the last named strain was probably the strongest. It affected art, indeed, over the whole of the Angevin Empire, down to the Pyrenees.

Down to a quite recent date it was assumed by historians of art that the French, the Parisian, school of illumination was not only preëminent in Europe at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, but was also the nursery of excellence elsewhere. This opinion was contested by English students, and it is now in a fair way to be acknowledged that to England belongs, almost entirely, the credit of being the leader. Without England the style of illumination which prevailed in the French Royal Domaine, from the time of St. Louis onward, would be unexplainable. The breach of continuity with the past would be too great. It was from the English hearth that the French illuminators took the fire which they blew into so great a flame in the fourteenth century.



FIG. 274.—ST. MÉRY, PARIS.
(HEDLEY FITTON.)

All through the fourteenth century and for the first twenty or thirty years of the fifteenth, the illumination of manuscripts in England became gradually more national—more different from similar work on the continent—in style. It also fluctuated greatly in excellence. The years of the Black Death almost stifled the art, and it was not until nearly the close of the fourteenth century that good work was again produced in any quantity. Down to the commencement of the Wars of the Roses, however, fine work was still done, and many splendid manuscripts date from the years between about 1380 and 1430.

ETCHING

ETCHING

The art of etching has had a curious career in this country. After its invention—as a pure and separate art—by Rembrandt, it lay unnoticed for more than a century and a half by English artists, and then, like a forgotten seed, it suddenly germinated in the minds of two Scottish painters, coming up almost as sound and whole as Rembrandt had left it. David Wilkie and Andrew Geddes have left but a few plates behind them, but those few are enough to show how completely alive they were to the idiosyncrasy of the medium. Their attempt—if we can call it one—to revive a dormant art was frustrated by one of nature's little ironies in the foundation of the Etching Club, a loose confederacy of painters who had neither the qualities nor the aims of the true artist in line. They thought in anecdote, and other men's anecdotes at that! Their plates, speaking broadly, have no touch of the right character, and are now practically forgotten. The example of Wilkie and Geddes was not fruitless, however. Two etchers arose soon after the middle of the century who will take their places in the future among the great masters. One of these was James McNeill Whistler; the other, his brother-in-law, Francis Seymour Haden. During most of his career Whistler posed as anti-English, although his art was mainly British, in spite of his American birth and French training. It was essentially an art of emotional selection. He thought he was painting with his brains, but these were domi-



FIG. 275.—MISS SEYMOUR HADEN. (WHISTLER.)



FIG. 276.—APRIL IN KENT. (F. SHORT.)

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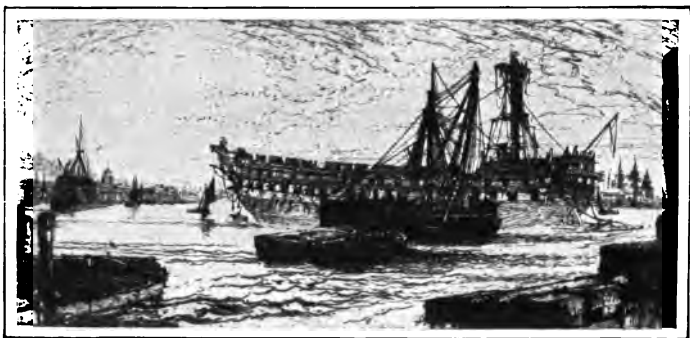


FIG. 277.—THE AGAMEMNON. (SIR F. SEYMOUR HADEN.)

Francis Seymour Haden, was newer and more detached than he, also colder, more conscious, more scientific. Whistler's powers as an etcher first became generally known in 1871, when a series of "Sixteen etchings of scenes on the Thames and other subjects" was published. From that time to his death he was accepted as, perhaps, the most consummate master of the art since Rembrandt, his only rivals in modern times being the two men already named, Sir Francis Seymour Haden and Charles Méryon.



FIG. 278.—MILL IN WIRRAL.
(F. BURRIDGE.)

Méryon's art may almost be claimed as English. His father was English, and his inspiration came from an English imagination, determined by the face of Paris and heated by a touch of insanity.

The interest excited by the plates of Whistler and Seymour Haden led first to a feverish hunt after other etchers, by which the fame of Méryon was established, and secondly to the investigation of the powers of the etching point by many of our younger artists. During the last twenty years or so, the class of painter-etchers—as we now call etchers who etch their own ideas—has greatly increased, or rather

has been created, and not a few among its members have shown powers which will give them a permanent place among the masters of the art.

ENGRAVING

Reproductive etching, the use of etching for purposes formerly confined to engraving, has been carried farther on the Continent than here, although these islands have supplied the chief market for its results. One of the best of all reproducers in the method, however, is an Englishman, W. E. Hole, R.S.A., who is responsible for some remarkable plates after Rembrandt and the masters of the so-called Romanticist school in France.

ENGRAVING

Engraving, in the purest sense of the word, the use of the burin or graver to plough or punch hollows in the copper, has never enlisted a large class of votaries in this country. It demands qualities of patience and exactness with which we, as a nation, are not so richly endowed as some of our rivals. Engraving is, in fact, a form of criticism. Its excellence depends on a frame of mind not dissimilar from that which leads a man to devote his life to the examination—word by word, syllable by syllable, letter by letter—of, say, Shakespeare. The Englishman's eye loves results, but does not always delight in means. Short cuts and royal roads appeal to him, and so he has distinguished himself as a wood engraver, and has, in recent times, invented what is known as the mixed method of reproducing pictures in black and white: a method in which etching, engraving, and mezzotint all bear their parts. The brilliant prints obtained by these means are not satisfactory to those who combine a respect for unity with their other æsthetic proclivities.¹

The *art* of wood engraving may almost be claimed as an English invention—as practised in Italy and Germany it was a delicate mechanical process, at the service



FIG. 279.—WOODCUT, FROM THE
"FALL OF PRINCIS."



FIG. 280.—WOODCUT INITIAL
LETTER TO FOXE'S "MAR-
TYRS."

¹ A few very great line engravers have been British, or at least members of the British school. William Faithorne (1616-1691) owed a good deal of the beautiful style of his later works to the

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of an art, the art of drawing. It was not until Thomas Bewick (born at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1753) reversed the usual method and started the system of the white line, that the woodcutter became an artist, working freely from drawings, pictures, or Nature herself. The old process involved great mechanical

labor and skill, but no art; the new one required comparatively little labor or skill, but could only be used with effect by an artist. Holbein and Dürer's work as artists was finished when they had made their designs. The rest was a strictly mechanical process of removing from their blocks all those parts of the surface which corresponded to blank paper in the design. Bewick began with a block blacked all over—on that he drew his subject in white line, exactly as the dry-point engraver draws upon copper. In doing so he was obliged to interpret



FIG. 281.—PLATE FROM HARRINGTON'S "ARIOSTO."

his model, just as any other user of a process incapable of direct

example of Nanteuil, under whom he worked for a time in 1649. His son, William Faithorne, junior (1656–1701?), would, perhaps, have rivalled his father, had his mode of life been steadier. Sir Robert Strange (1721–1792) was a Scot, of a Fife family settled in Orkney; William Woollett (1735–1785), a Kentish man by birth, was of Dutch extraction. Strange's method of engraving shows a purity, breadth, and vigor which has never been excelled, while Woollett treated landscape with extraordinary taste, flexibility, and refinement of style. Strange was too fond of the seventeenth-century Italians, but he has also left plates after Titian, Holbein, and Vanduyck. Woollett's best work was done after Richard Wilson. William Sharp (1749–1824) was but little inferior to Woollett. A fine and complete collection of his works is in the British Museum. John Keyse Sherwin (1751–1790) has left some excellent plates, one of the best being the *Banquet of the Knights of St. Patrick, in Dublin Castle*. Throughout the nineteenth century the pure art of line engraving was slowly dying, and may be said to have now become extinct.

MEZZOTINTS

imitation has to interpret. The consequence was that a print from a block cut by him contained his own individuality, showed his own grip of the subject and his own ideas of how to do it justice, which was only possible with the old process when designer and engraver were one and the same person. Ruskin called him a reformer "as stout as Holbein, or Botticelli, or Luther, or Savonarola." Incidentally, Bewick's method was peculiarly adapted to the English genius, in that it was not entirely objective, or destructive of individuality. Bewick's chief works were his *English Quadrupeds*, published in 1790, and his two series of *English Birds*, published in 1797 and 1804 respectively. His example inspired many followers, of whom the best, perhaps, were Charlton Nesbitt and Luke Clennell, but the white line never entirely ousted its rival. One cause of this, perhaps the chief cause, was that many wood engravers had begun life as engravers on copper, and followed the second occupation without giving up the first. Such men were Robert Branston, John Orrin Smith, William Harvey, and others who produced great numbers of book illustrations in the days before photography had bred its large family of mechanical processes.

MEZZOTINTS

If those methods of engraving which depend upon line made but a weak appeal to the English genius, it was not so with mezzotint, in which the quality of paint is approached more closely than in any other method of artistic reproduction. The art of mezzotint was invented by one Ludwig von Siegen, an officer of mingled Dutch and German blood in the Service of the Landgraf of Hesse-Cassel. By him the invention was communicated to Prince Rupert,



FIG. 282.—DUKE OF MONMOUTH.
(ABM. BLOOTELING AFTER SIR
PETER LELY.)



FIG. 283.—ELIZABETH AND EMMA
CREWE. (JOHN DIXON AFTER
SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS.)

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who was the first to use it with vigor and breadth. From Prince Rupert, Sir Christopher Wren, who was at one time credited with the



FIG. 284.—MRS. ABINGTON AS THE COMIC MUSE. (JOHN WATSON AFTER SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS.)

invention, may have learned the process. Two small mezzotints of negroes' heads are ascribed to him. The first man to grasp the full possibilities of the method was a Dutchman, Abraham Blooteling (1634–1700 ?), who was domiciled in London from 1672 to his death (Fig. 282). Putting aside the works of Prince Rupert, of which the *Great Executioner* is the best, the earliest English mezzotint, so far as we know, is a portrait of Charles II, by William Sherwin, which is dated 1669. At about the same time plates were being published in London bearing the names of Richard Tompson and Alexander Browne, but whether these men were engravers or only publishers seems to be uncertain. Edward Lutterell¹ (or Luttrell), an Irishman by birth (1650 ?–1710 ?),

Francis Place (1647–1728), R. Williams (flourished 1680–1700), and Isaac Beckett (1653–?) all helped to prepare the great develop-



FIG. 285.—LADY CHAMBERS. (J. MACARDELL AFTER SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS.)

ment of the eighteenth century, which may be said finally to have been set afoot by John Smith (1652 ?–1742). Smith had the good fortune to find at once a generous patron and an artist well fitted for reproduction by the scraper, in Sir Godfrey Kneller, after whom he mezzotinted no fewer than 138 plates. Kneller was not faithful to Smith, however, and also employed Jean Simon (1675–1755 ?), a Frenchman and pupil of Smith's, to translate several of his pictures into black and white. Simon may be claimed for the English School of Mezzotint, as it was not until he came to London that he

abandoned the burin for the scraper, and devoted himself to the

¹The Irish National Gallery possesses a pastel portrait by Lutterell executed on the rocked surface of a copper-plate prepared for mezzotinting.

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"black art." William Faithorne the younger, already mentioned as a line engraver, also scraped mezzotints. George White (flourished 1714-1731) is believed to have been the first to etch his outline on the copper before laying the mezzotint ground. Two of the most industrious mezzotinters in the first half of the eighteenth century were the John Fabers, father and son, who came here from The Hague when the latter was three years old. Young Faber is best known by his plates after the Kneller portraits of the members of the Kit-Cat Club.

At the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, mezzotint scraping was falling into neglect in England. The practitioners were dying out, and those who survived were doing inferior work. Among the latter, however, was one Thomas Beard, who, without ever becoming a distinguished engraver himself, played a not unimportant part in the history of mezzotint. He migrated to Dublin, where he scraped the first Irish plate, and helped to sow the seed of what was to be a great movement in the art. John Brooks, the first native Irish mezzotinter, had his curiosity excited. He came to London, learned to scrape, returned to Ireland, and practised the art there for a time. With him travelled to Ireland one Andrew Miller, a pupil of Faber junior. These three men, Beard, Brooks, and Miller, kept mezzotint alive during the dead years of the eighteenth century, and, by means of a school established by Brooks, prepared the great development which marked its second half.

This development was due in the beginning entirely to Irish-born workers. The greatest of these was James MacArdell, a pupil of Brooks, whose best plates have



FIG. 286.—HOPE NURSING LOVE.
(EDWARD FISHER AFTER SIR
JOSHUA REYNOLDS.)



FIG. 287.—THE LADIES WALDEGRAVE.
(VALENTINE GREEN AFTER SIR
JOSHUA REYNOLDS.)

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seldom been rivalled and never surpassed. MacArdell's life was short. He died at thirty-seven, having produced more than two hundred plates. On a series of thirty-seven after Reynolds his fame chiefly rests, but many of his plates after other painters, from Van Dyck to Hudson, are as fine as those after Sir Joshua.

Contemporary with MacArdell was his fellow countryman, Richard Houston, who might have become an even greater engraver had he kept clear of that stumbling block to so many Irishmen of genius, intemperance. Houston left about 160 plates behind him, besides a great deal of insignificant hack work to which he was reduced by his own improvidence. Richard Purcell and Charles Spooner repeated Houston's follies but did not rival his ability. Other Irishmen were Michael Ford, Michael Jackson, Edward Fisher, John Dixon, James Watson, and Thomas Frye. Thomas Frye was more of an original artist than most engravers. His extant drawings are good, and his best known plates are life-size heads, portraits done from life with no intermediary but his



FIG. 288.—LADY CAROLINE PRICE.
(JOHN JONES AFTER SIR JOSHUA
REYNOLDS.)

own drawings. The last of the Irish mezzotinters to quit this world was James Watson, who died in 1790, leaving a daughter, Caroline, who won a great reputation for herself as an engraver in stipple.

The art founded by Ludwig von Siegen in 1642 rose to its highest level in the last thirty years of the eighteenth century. Isolated plates had touched the summit of excellence long before—for instance, Blooteling's *Monmouth* (Fig. 282), the best of John Smith's plates, MacArdell's *Lady Chambers* (Fig. 285), etc.—but it was not until the English engravers had been fired by the example of the Irish pupils of James Brooks that the art became a great and flourishing tree showering its fruit broadcast over an admiring country.

The earliest master of this great period was John Finlayson, whose most refined plate, *Elizabeth, Duchess of Argyll*, was published in 1770. Immediately after Finlayson came William Pether, famous for his plates after Rembrandt and after the candle-lighted scenes of Wright of Derby; John Watts, a vigorous scraper, who

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followed the pursuit more or less as an amateur; Philip Dawe, who, like Pether, was fond of reproducing candle-light pictures; Jonathan Spilsbury; Giuseppe Marchi, the pupil of Reynolds; and two men of higher powers than any of these in Valentine Green and John Jones.

Green was born in 1739, came to London in 1765, was elected A.R.A. in 1775, and died in 1813. The chief merit of his plates lies in the delicacy both of his texture and of his interpretation of his originals. Among his best plates are the *Ladies Waldegrave* (Fig. 287), *Lady Betty Delmé*, and the *Countess of Aylesford* after Reynolds, and *Ozias Humphry*, after Romney. John Jones was born about 1745 and died in 1797. He was among the more versatile of the scrapers of mezzotint, his plates showing very great variety, in manner as well as in merit. Among the best are *Lady Caroline Price* (Fig. 288), and *Charles James Fox*, after Reynolds; and *Dulce Domum*, after W. R. Bigg. Earlom (1743-1822) was a man of enterprise as well as of extraordinary dexterity, for he scraped such difficult subjects as the flower pieces of Van Huysum and the landscapes of Hobbema. But John Raphael Smith (1752-1812) may, on the whole, be considered the most conspicuous figure in the long procession of the mezzotinters. His numerous plates yield to none in brilliance and in every direction his accomplishment was complete. His earliest plate, a portrait of *Pascal Paoli*, is dated 1769; he left off work about 1809.¹



FIG. 289.—SIR HARBORD HARBORD. (J. R. SMITH AFTER GAINSBOROUGH.)



FIG. 290.—SALISBURY FROM THE MEADOWS. (DAVID LUCAS AFTER CONSTABLE.)

¹Other mezzotinters of this period of fullest achievement were Thomas Watson (1743-?), William Dickinson (1746-1823), Robert Dunkarton (1744-1811), John Murphy (flourished 1780-1809), Charles Townley (1746-1800?), James Walker (1748-1819), William Doughty (active 1775-1782), Henry Hudson (active 1782-1793), Thomas Burke (1749-1815), Josiah Boydell (1750-1817), John Dean (d. 1793), Thomas Park (b. 1760; left off engraving in 1797), Joseph Grozer (1755?-1799?), and Charles Howard Hodges (1764-1837). Those nine-

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The skill of the engravers persisted far into the nineteenth century, but opportunities were not then what they had been. The



FIG. 201.—MRS. CARWARDINE AND CHILD. (J. R. SMITH AFTER ROMNEY.)

methods of English painters were no longer so apt for reproduction in mezzotint as in the days of Reynolds and Romney, and costume, under the continually increasing pressure from the bad example of France, became steadily more and more unpicturesque. It is hardly to be wondered at that the art practically disappeared before the century was fifty years old, and that, when it did revive, its attention was still mainly given to the great painters of the Georgian era. During the nineteenth century two innovations were made in the practice of mezzotint. In the first place attempts were made to scrape steel, instead of copper, with

great loss of charm; secondly, the process of "steeling" the copper—covering it electrically with a deposit of steel—was invented, and is now generally used, although a plate so treated fails to give the softly rich impressions yielded by the naked copper.



FIG. 202.—RAGLAN CASTLE. (J. M. W. TURNER. LIBER STUDIORUM.)

The purity of mezzotint became more and more adulterated with etching, until in the work of Samuel Cousins the two are so combined as to be equal contributors to the final result. Such a plate as the *Midsummer Night's Dream* of Cousins may be compared to the wash drawings of the eighteenth century, the linear skeleton answering to the etched wood and the wash to the scraped.

The nature of mezzotint made it inevitable that it should be chiefly used for the reproduction of figure pictures, and among

teenth century scrapers who belonged to the end of the great period rather than to the modern revival were John Young (1755–1825); William Say (1768–1834), the first man to experiment with steel; George Townley Stubbs (1756–1815), William (1766–1816) and James (1769–1859) Ward, George Dawe (1781–1829), George Clint (1790–1835), S. W. Reynolds (1773–1835), William Whiston Barney (d. 1800), Charles Turner (1773–1857), Henry Meyer (1782–1847), Thomas Lupton (1791–1873), John Richardson Jackson (1819–1877), John Charles (1795–1835) and James (1800–1838) Bromley, David Lucas (1802–1881), and Samuel Cousins (1801–1867).

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figure pictures, of portraits, and among portraits, of those in which modelling was broad, both in heads and draperies. Ideal subjects for the mezzotint scraper are the portraits of Lely, Hogarth, Reynolds (especially those in which the draperies are the work of Peter Toms), Raeburn, and Romney; many of Hoppner's portraits and a few of Lawrence's call for such interpretation. But Gainsborough does not lend himself so kindly to the method; his chiaroscuro has less play, and his brush less breadth, than the scraper invites. The delicious color and unrivalled lightness of execution which set him on a pedestal of his own are not to be fully suggested by any form of black and white. In our own day, Mr. Sargent's portraits would make ideal subjects for the scraper.

Landscape is a bad subject for the scraper. Earlom, indeed, showed great ability in his work after Hobbema, Turner and his engravers did wonders with their mixed methods in the *Liber Studiorum*, and David Lucas set one aspect of the genius of Constable before us with extraordinary vigor. But even the best of these things fail to give us that feeling that here we have something put to its proper use with consummate taste and consummate skill, which is inspired by the best mezzotints after Sir Joshua and Romney.

The revivalist mezzotinters have followed, in the main, the older and purer methods. The steeling of copper plates has made it feasible to print large editions without much sign of wear, so that steel plates and conspicuous etching have been practically abandoned, and the best modern mezzotints do not fall so very far below those of the great period in charm.



FIG. 293.—LADY PEEL. (SAMUEL COUSINS AFTER LAWRENCE.)

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FIG. 294.—ENGLISH IVORY: FOURTEENTH CENTURY.
(Victoria and Albert Museum.)



FIG. 295.—PANEL FROM ST. STEPHEN'S, WESTMINSTER. (British Museum.)

CHAPTER XIII

PAINTING IN THE BRITISH ISLES FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE BIRTH OF HOGARTH

THE remains of early painting in the British Isles are few, although by no means so few as current talk about our arts would suggest. Wherever conditions have been favorable, relics of ancient painting exist to show that here, as elsewhere, the arts were complete, and the *cortège* of trades marching under the banner of Apollo without any serious gap. Given a country church, dating back to the early days of Gothic architecture, disposing of no dangerous depth of purse, but covered with ancient whitewash: you are pretty sure, on carefully lifting the whitewash, to come upon traces of pictured decorations: Crucifixions, Last Judgments, figures of Saints or Bishops. These islands were not open to the multitudinous influences by which the southern nations of the Continent were surrounded, and so they cannot boast of so much variety in their remains of early painting. Anything that reached them from the East or South had to travel so far, and pass through so many modifying forces on the way, that our relics are more homogeneous than similar things elsewhere. Among examples of wall painting of which any vestiges remain are such decorations as those of the Galilee at Durham and the nave at St. Albans's. Only one bay of a decoration which at least filled three bays, is now extant at

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Durham. It includes feigned hangings, strongly reminiscent in style of the illuminations of the thirteenth century, and two nobly conceived figures of bishops. The crucifixion is the chief subject at St. Albans's.

We have seen that the decoration of English MSS. was on the whole superior to what was being done in foreign countries down to the early years of the fifteenth century. It was characterized by boldness in conception, by vivacity, and taste in execution. It was carried on with almost unbroken industry from the early



FIG. 296.—RICHARD II. WESTMINSTER. (Painter unknown.)

days of the Celtic monasteries to the beginning of the Wars of the Roses, so that, in spite of all the destruction of the Reformation and of the Puritan wrath which followed, its remains are still rich and numerous. These illuminations are sufficient in themselves to prove that painting had a normal career in the British Isles during the middle ages. And they by no means stand alone. Apart from the ruder wall paintings alluded to above, there still exists a certain number of paintings which are at once distinct from contemporary work on the continent of Europe and of very high merit for their time. Three of the chief examples are figured here (Figs. 295, 297, 298). The portrait of Richard II, in Westminster Abbey, taking its date, scale, and excellence into account, is the most important thing of its kind in Europe (Fig. 298).

The Wilton portrait of the same king, with its accompaniments, is still more intimate in its charm. In style these are quite distinct from anything then being produced on the Continent, while they are akin to other English work of the time. The third example (Fig. 295) is a fragment from a series of paintings removed from St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster,¹ to the British Museum. It

¹ A portrait of Edward III, kneeling, also existed in St. Stephen's Chapel previous to the fire of 1834.

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dates, apparently, from about the middle of the fourteenth century, and has strongly distinctive features of its own which bring it into closer relationship with English Illumination miniatures than with anything in Italy or France. The action of the figures is varied, perhaps too highly varied, and dramatic. The modelling is fused, the rendering of draperies elaborate, the coloring both brilliant and rich. These latter characteristics are to be found in all three of these paintings, although their dates are probably half a century apart. Exactly similar qualities are to be found in a fourteenth century retable in Norwich Cathedral. The continental work which comes nearest is that of certain later Frenchmen, such as Jean Malouel, who may well have been influenced by English painters, just as French and Flemish illuminators were



FIG. 297.—RICHARD II. AND SAINTS.
(Wilton House.)



FIG. 298.—MARGARET BEAUFORT.
(Painter unknown.)
National Portrait Gallery.

influenced by the decorators of English manuscripts. The distinctive features, speaking broadly, of English Gothic painting are energy of movement and fine color, a rare combination, which is not to be found in Tuscan Art of the time to the same degree.

Little substance or continuity, however, can as yet be given to the history of painting in England before the advent of Holbein, about the middle of Henry VIII's reign. Great destruction of things portable had taken place during the Wars of the Roses, and the fate which threatened the religious houses for some years before their dissolution had its effect in discouraging their

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artistic activity. So that the German painter arrived in the nick of time to supply a needed stimulus. The earliest English works, except the Wilton and Westminster portraits, that we should now call pictures date from the years of his activity and confess his influence very clearly indeed. They belong to two classes: miniatures, or "limnings," as they were called, and portraits life-size or of a size approaching that of life. Our immediate business is with the latter.

As the great school of English portrait miniaturists had one, at least, of its roots in Holbein, so has the still greater school of our portrait painters in large. Before the days of the Augsburgers

there were portrait painters in the country. Indeed, it seems likely that this particular branch of art flourished exceptionally in these islands from very early days. National propensities do not readily change, and among the few important pictures which have come down from our Gothic centuries we find several portraits—(e.g., those of *James III of Scotland* and his Queen, *Margaret of Denmark*, and *Sir Edward Boncle*, on the panels at Holyrood now ascribed to Hugo Van der Goes, as well as the *Richard II* in Westminster Abbey (Fig. 296)—on a scale hardly known elsewhere at the same period. All previous



FIG. 299.—PORTRAIT OF EDMUND BUTTS.
(JOHN BETTES.) National Gallery.

fashions in portraiture dissolved, however, before the sun of Holbein. In those days the facilities for advertisement were slight enough. A portrait would be painted and sent home, and only the sitter's friends would have much chance of enjoying it. But the work of the Augsburgers had the merit of appealing to all kinds of people, to those who saw nothing in a picture beyond a more or less successful attempt to imitate some object outside it, as well as to those who understood art. Such a panel as the *Duchess of Milan*, in the National Gallery, would delight the ignorant by its truth of imitation as much as it would the man of knowledge and taste by its combination of objective veracity with the sincere expression of emotion.

Holbein's example dominated English painting for nearly a

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century, until the apparition of Samuel Cooper and Van Dyck. A very large number of pictures exist which would never have put on the form in which we see them had he never come to England. But few, if any, men can be traced to his studio, and yet fewer pictures assigned to any particular disciple. His own work, of course, does not belong to the æsthetic stem it is our present business to trace, but its effect was so great that a short sketch of his career must be given. He was born at Augsburg in 1497 and died in London in 1543, having spent the years 1526 to 1528 and 1532 to 1543 in the English capital.

Here he painted a large number of portraits, most of his sitters being drawn either from the *entourage* of the Court, or from the German colony. He is supposed to have painted all the wives of Henry VIII, as well as the King himself. He went abroad more than once to paint ladies on whom the King thought of bestowing the dangerous prize of his hand. On the 7th of October, 1543, he made his will, to which an administrator was appointed on the 29th of the following month; so his death occurred between those two dates.

The life-work of Holbein is, perhaps, more homogeneous and more level in excellence than that of any other painter. His pictures vary greatly in importance, but scarcely at all in the success with which they carry out their aim. He is never careless, empty, or perfunctory. His miniatures of the two small sons of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, are as complete in their way as the *Darmstadt Madonna*, or *The Ambassadors*, or the *Georg*



FIG. 300.—ENGLISH PORTRAIT, BY SOME FOLLOWER OF HOLBEIN.



FIG. 301.—UNIDENTIFIED PORTRAIT.
(Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)

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Ghisze. The art of Holbein united Teutonic to Latin characteristics. No portrait painter has been more objective, and yet few



FIG. 302.—PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM STOCKE (?).
(Worcester College, Oxford.)

have had a finer sense of design or of color pattern. Indeed, in one respect he is unequalled as a colorist. No man has succeeded so completely as he in uniting frankness of individual tint to harmony in the final result. His genius is like the daylight coming through a stained-glass window: it reconciles tints apparently the most irreconcilable. I may be allowed to name what seem to me his masterpieces:—*The Meyer Madonna* (Darmstadt), *The Ambassadors*, and *Christina, Duchess of Milan*, (London), *Georg Ghisze*, Berlin, *Duke of Norfolk*, Windsor, *Portrait of a Young Man*, Vienna, *Thomas Morrett*, Dresden,¹ *Sir Bryan Tuke*, Munich, and *Sir Thomas More* in the collection of Mr. Edward Huth. It is probable that the best of all his works



FIG. 303.—PORTRAIT OF A NAVIGATOR.
(Oxford University Gallery.)

was the group of the two Henrys, VII and VIII, with their wives, which was destroyed with Whitehall. A partial cartoon survives to give a hint of what has been lost: it belongs to the Duke of Devonshire.

Woltmann says that "in England Holbein seems to have stood quite alone, and to have worked in general without pupils or assistants: his artistic style here found no imitators." This too sweeping statement seems to be founded on nothing more than the fact that no immediate pupil of the master made a European name. England swarms

with pictures painted in a style founded on his, most of them,

¹ Doubts have been thrown on the tradition which identifies this portrait as that of Morett, Henry VIII's jeweller. But the attempts to identify him with a French Morette or an Italian Moretta appear to me to rest on evidence weaker than that of his face, which claims him for England.

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indeed, of slight merit, but a few showing that some men of real gifts were numbered among the great man's scholars or disciples. To only two of these, among those who painted in large, can particular pictures at present be assigned with any approach to confidence. A male portrait in the National Gallery, by John Bettes, who painted with his brother Thomas in the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth, is excellent (Fig. 299). It has been asserted that Gwillim Strete, or Stretes, was a Fleming, mainly on the strength of his name. It is probable that he was the direct pupil of Holbein, and that we have examples of his work in the full lengths of the *Earl of Surrey* (at Hampton Court and at Arundel Castle), in that of *Edward VI*, which was at the Old Masters in 1902; and in the copy of Holbein's *Jane Seymour*, which hangs in The Hague Museum. It is possible, however, that none of these are by Strete, and that his real hand is to be recognized in a portrait signed with the monogram G. S., in the collection of Lord Yarborough. Many other English artists flourished, or at least existed and painted, during these reigns. Their names and many of their works have survived, but evidence to connect the one with the other is very scanty. Pictures are known by Sir Robert Peake (1590?-1667), by Richard Lyne (F. 1572), by Richard Stevens (F. 1590) (who was by extraction Dutch), and a few others, but the names only of John Bossam, of Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, of Peter Cole, of John Shute, of Nicholas Lockie or Lockey, and many more, have survived. It is curious that only by rare exception do English pictures earlier than the nineteenth century bear their authors' signatures. If each painter had signed but a single picture, we should have had something to go upon in sorting out their works, and the historian's task would have been enormously simplified. An able painter who flourished in the last half of the sixteenth century was George Gower, who was made Sergeant Painter to Queen Elizabeth in 1584. A signed and dated portrait of himself, enriched with biographical facts, belongs



FIG. 304.—UNIDENTIFIED PORTRAIT.
(Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)

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to Mr. George Fitzwilliam, at Milton, Northants. His hand is also to be recognized in a double portrait, back and front of panel, in the collection of Lord Strathmore. It represents the ninth Baron Glamis and his secretary, George Boswell, both as boys. These portraits show that Gower was a very good artist indeed.

Another painter of considerable ability who belonged to the last years of Elizabeth, and to the reigns of James I and Charles I, was Sir Nathaniel Bacon, K.B., of Culford, Suffolk. He was the son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, the first of the baronets, and was consequently the nephew of the great Sir Francis. He was born in or about 1583 and died in 1627.



FIG. 305.—PORTRAIT OF JOHN BULL.
(The Schools, Oxford.)

At least three excellent pictures by him are known : his own portrait and a kitchen piece, called *The Cook Maid*, in the possession of Lord Verulam, at Gorhambury, and another portrait of himself in the possession of Mr. Nicholas Bacon, of Raveningham Hall, Norwich.¹ Still better are the series of Tradescant portraits, in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. It appears probable that most of these are the work of one de Critz, or de Crats, of a family which held official positions at the courts of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I. Meres, in the *Wits Commonwealth*, published in London in 1598, speaks of "John de Cretz" as very famous for his painting. This same John was employed on the tomb of Elizabeth, in Westminster Abbey. He had a brother, Thomas, as good or better than himself ; an Oliver and an Emanuel are also known : a fine portrait of the former is in the Ashmolean Museum. Both John and Emanuel seem to have been Sergeant Painters to Charles I. At the dispersal of the King's pictures they were buyers, says Walpole, to the amount of £4,999. If one of them was really the author of the Tradescant pictures, he was the best native painter in large of his time, as Robert Walker, Cromwell's favorite painter, asserted him to be. A de Critz is credited with the painting of the ceiling in the "Double Cube," at Wilton. He is also mentioned by Pepys as the painter of

¹ See article by Prince Frederick Duleep Singh, *Burlington Magazine* for July, 1907.

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a portrait of the first Lord Sandwich, which cost £3 10s., including the frame. De Critz is hardly an English name, but the absence of any mention of it in French or Flemish archives suggests that the family in question was, at least, English born.

The only other painter of any great merit, who flourished before the days of Van Dyck and can be claimed as in any degree English, was Cornelius Jonson, or Janssen van Ceulen. He was born in London in 1593, and is believed to have died in Holland in 1664. Had he been a better colorist, he would have taken a very high place indeed among the painters of his time. His portraits often have a wonderful charm, in spite of his cold and timid ways with color. The best Jonsons I know of in this country are a head of the Earl of Portland, in the National Portrait Gallery, a head in the same manner in the Irish National Gallery, and a lady's portrait in Mrs. Joseph's collection. The two male portraits show a strong affinity with the style of Dobson, a likeness which disappears in Jonson's later work. It has often been said that Jonson was driven from England by the competition of Van Dyck, but he was here for at least seven years after Van Dyck's death. The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, has a picture signed *Corn. Jonson Londini fecit*, 1648, and in that same year he received the Speaker's warrant to enable him to leave England and take his chattels with him.

Van Dyck (1599-1641) came to England for the first time in 1621, but only on a flying visit. About 1630 he came again and



FIG. 306.—EARL OF PORTLAND.
(C. JONSON.)

National Portrait Gallery.



FIG. 307.—PORTRAIT OF A LADY.
(C. JONSON.) Mrs. Joseph.

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then, in 1632, he settled here, on the invitation of Charles I. He was lodged in Blackfriars, where, for nine years, he lived richly,



FIG. 308.—ENDYMION PORTER.
(DOBSON.) National Portrait Gallery.

worked hard, and directed a large staff of scholars and assistants. Being, perhaps, the most impressionable of all great painters, he rapidly threw off the manner he had contracted under the influence of the great Venetians, and adopted one suggested, possibly, by the work of Samuel Cooper. His best English pictures are worthy to hang beside the finest of his Genoese period, but many things he did in this country are perfunctory, and inferior to studio repetitions of his good things by his better pupils. The truth of that statement became quite evident when 129 pictures ascribed to him were brought together at Bur-

lington House in 1900. The best and the worst things in that collection betrayed his own hand. All three of his manners are now finely illustrated in the National Gallery: the early Flemish period by the half length of Cornelis Van der Gheest; the Genoese, by the portraits of the Marchese and Marchesa (?) Cataneo, lately acquired; and the English by the superb equestrian portrait of Charles I from Blenheim Palace.

So far as a national school of painting can be rooted in a single man, and him a foreigner, the modern English school is rooted in Van Dyck. Holbein had a great effect in his day, but artist as he was, he had too much Teutonic objectivity and curiosity in his composition to become the permanent head and creator of anything British. A great contrast was presented by Van Dyck. Affected at once by the *genius loci*, if not by the work of the native artists, the Fleming built up a style in complete accord with English predilections, a style which could readily impose itself on the majority of those painters of mixed Celtic and Teutonic blood by whom he was to be followed.

Most of Van Dyck's own immediate scholars were of foreign birth. The best, probably was Jean de Reyn, who came so near

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his master that his works are mostly catalogued as Van Dyck's; except in Dunkirk, where he passed the last thirty years of his life and left many pictures in the churches. Another clever pupil was David Beek, a Dutchman, whose facility has been celebrated by a saying of Charles I's, chronicled by Descamps: "*Parbleu, Beek, je crois que vous peindriez à cheval et en courant la poste!*"

Besides his pupils, Van Dyck employed in his studio several painters who had learnt elsewhere: Adriaan Hanneman, a pupil of A. Van Ravesteyn and Daniel Mijtens, senr., Peter Lely, who was under his influence for some months before his death, and two Englishmen, William Dobson and Henry Stone (known as "Old Stone").

Dobson was a pupil of Sir Robert Peake, but seems also to have been strongly affected by the example of Cornelius Jonson. He was set upon his feet by Van Dyck, who had discovered him in a state bordering on destitution. He acted for a time as the Fleming's assistant, although his style was quite distinct from Van Dyck's when independently exercised. On the death of his patron he was appointed Sergeant Painter to the King, but died poor five years later. His best works, such as the portrait of Endymion Porter (Fig. 308), in the National Portrait Gallery, touch a very high level. Dobson's pictures are fairly numerous, but a great deal of disentangling of the true from the false yet remains to be done.

Henry Stone was a son of Nicholas Stone, a good sculptor, and master mason to James I. He copied many pictures of Van Dyck and others, and was a painstaking, dull artist. He died in London in 1653.

Edward Bower is remembered by one remarkable picture, a portrait of Charles I as he appeared at his trial, belonging to the Duke of Rutland. A good portrait in the Schools, at Oxford, represents Nicholas Lanier, who seems to have followed Van Dyck.

A painter whose ability earns him a place between Dobson and "Old Stone" was George Jamesone, or Jamisone, called, absurdly enough, the Scottish Van Dyck. He was born in Aberdeen late in



FIG. 309.—LADY BELLASYS. (SIR PETER LELY.) Hampton Court.

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the sixteenth century. He was apprenticed in Edinburgh in 1612, and it has been asserted that he also studied under Rubens, in Antwerp. Of that, however, there are no signs in his work. Tradition says that the family of Rubens's second wife, Helena Fourment, was an offshoot from a well-known Aberdeen stock, the Formans. The possibility suggests itself that the master's friendship with the Fourments and Jamesone's sojourn at Antwerp—otherwise improbable enough—may have had some connection with each other. Jamesone's works are fairly numerous in Scotland. They are distinguished by careful

execution in a thin, luminous impasto, but are monotonous in color and lack vigor. Jamesone died in 1646, and was buried in the famous churchyard of the Grey Friars in Edinburgh.



FIG. 310.—MISS JANE KELLEWAY.
(SIR PETER LELY.) Hampton Court.

From the end of the first half of the seventeenth century onward, painters of native origin begin to increase rapidly in numbers. We are still far from anyone who rose to the level of the following century, but after the example of Van Dyck had had time to produce its effect, art began to attract men of some gifts to its pursuit. During the Commonwealth it languished, as might have been expected, but Lely found pa-

tronage; as did Robert Walker and Samuel Cooper, who each painted Cromwell more than once. But the line of British painters, which has continued to the present day, began with certain scholars of Lely.

Sir Peter Lely was born at Soest,¹ near Utrecht, in 1618. His father, a military captain named Van der Faes, had changed the family name. The son studied in Haarlem under Pieter de Grebber, but came to England in 1641, shortly before the death of Van Dyck. Here, like Van Dyck himself, he rapidly built up a style which suited his new *milieu*, and was rewarded by a vogue which lasted till his death in 1680. He became an agreeable

¹ Lely has often been catalogued with the German School, in spite of his utterly non-German art, in the belief that the Soest of his birth was the Westphalian town of that name.

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colorist, he cultivated elegance in design and breadth in execution, and he took manners as he found them. His best work is as good as work without intensity can ever hope to be. He began by painting in brown tones, with little positive color, which latter he allowed to creep into his conceptions rather gradually. Internal evidence proves that he made great use of assistants. The pictures ascribed to him are very numerous, and have not yet been completely studied. But so far as my own experience goes, I should say that Lely's own work is characterized by generally excellent, sometimes masterly, design, by a strong tendency to brown, which became gradually less marked, however, as time went on, and by more careful modelling than that of his scholars. The pictures on which we find his monogram all have this character. One of the best is a large family piece of *Charles Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon*, with his wife and two children, in the possession of Sir Algernon Coote, of Ballyfin, Queen's County. This Earl of Carnarvon was the third of the creation, and son of the Robert Earl, who fell at the first battle of Newbury. A fine group of three male sitters is at Christ Church, Oxford. Of the many pictures ascribed to Lely in the National Portrait Gallery, the following seem to me to be his: *Duke of Albemarle, Duke of Buckingham, Charles II, Mary Davis, Nell Gwyn, Countess of Shrewsbury, Wycherley, Duchess of York, and himself*. The *Windsor Beauties* at Hampton Court show, perhaps, a closer study of Van Dyck than anything else he did. The *Lady Bellasys*, with its floating cherubs, reminds one of the Fleming's excursions into mythology: but in design it is finer than most Van Dycks. Had it been carried out with the older man's patience, it would have been a masterpiece of courtly portraiture. But Lely had little patience. Toward the end of his career his draperies, especially, become mere scaffoldings for drapery, all deep shadow and high light. And his dealings with character are on a far lower plane than those of Van Dyck. But he could, when he chose, rise to an



FIG. 311.—COMTESSE DE GRAMMONT.
(SIR P. LELY.) Hampton Court.

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occasion. Walpole mentions a good many Lelys which are now difficult to trace, especially as his name has been attached to innumerable works he never touched or even saw. His drawings and pastels are good, though slight. He shares with Rembrandt, Lawrence, Bonnat, and a few other busy artists, the honor deserved by the fine connoisseur. After his death his collections brought the enormous amount, for the time, of some £26,000.



FIG. 312.—MRS. JANE MIDDLETON.
(? JOHN GREENHILL.)
National Portrait Gallery.

The best pupils of Lely were John Greenhill and Mary Beale.

John Greenhill was born at Salisbury in 1649 and died in 1676, so that he had not much time in which to make a name. His life was shortened by dissipation. Two or three of his pictures are at Dulwich College, one signed with his initials, J. G.

They are distinguished by refinement of drawing and by an agreeable silver tonality, which help us to recognize his share in works ascribed to his master. The portrait of *Mrs. Jane Middleton* (Fig. 312), in the National Portrait Gallery, seems to be his; if so, it is probably his masterpiece.

Mary Beale had a longer life than her fellow scholar and employed it better. She worked hard at her profession, as is shown by her husband's diary, quoted by Walpole from Vertue's papers. She was born in 1632 and died in 1697. Her portraits are numerous, but many have been given to her master, Lely. She had a stronger inclination toward positive color than either Lely or Greenhill: her handling is broader and less fused, her composition and modelling flatter, and her painting of flesh more interested in accident, than Lely's.

The names of several other disciples of Lely have come down to us, but in most cases it is impossible to attach any picture to the name. To this, however, Pepys's "painter in ordinary," John Hayls, is an exception. His portrait of Pepys himself is in the National Portrait Gallery (Fig. 313), and several of the Russell family are at Woburn. Other English painters of this period were William Reader, or Rieder, by whom there is a good picture in the Ashmolean; Anne

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Killigrew, celebrated by Dryden ; Edward Hawker, who succeeded to Lely's house and studio on that painter's death ; Sir John Gawdie, who was deaf and dumb ; and William Shepherd. The last-named, however, belonged to a somewhat earlier generation. He was the master of the versatile Francis Barlow (died 1702), a native of Lincolnshire, who painted animals, especially birds, with considerable felicity. He was also an engraver, and Hollar engraved after him. His edition of *Æsop*, with plates from his own designs, is well known.

Another "strain" among the painters of the seventeenth century is represented by the scholars of Isaac Fuller, whom I shall have to mention presently. His best pupil was John Riley, born in 1646, who would probably have become a painter of real importance under favorable conditions (Fig. 315). A good and interesting picture, *The Scullion*, by him is at Christ Church. The names should also be mentioned of Thomas Manby, a landscape painter ; of the two Joseph Michael Wrights, uncle and nephew, the elder a pupil of Jamesone and the master of Edmund Ashfield, by whom there are some fairly good portraits at Burghley House.

Hitherto we have found the influence of foreigners who had won a real vogue in England working generally for good. Holbein might have founded a great school in England, had his genius been more in harmony with that of the mixed race among whom he settled. The sympathetic Van Dyck adopted a style which was in complete accord with the English character and would almost certainly have produced the effect in the seventeenth century it did in the eighteenth, if puritanism and the civil troubles had not discouraged enterprise in the arts. Lely again, although he was content not to probe too deeply into his own reserve of power, was a real if superficial artist whose example could teach nothing that required to be unlearned. His presence had at least done something to prevent the fifth-rate foreigners—the Hoogstratens, Gascars, Verelsts, Huysmans, Soests, Wissings, &c.—from doing all the harm they might other-



FIG. 313.—S. PEPYS. (JOHN HAYLS.)
National Portrait Gallery.

wise have done. But on Lely's death, and even before it, fashion threw itself at the feet of perhaps the least interesting painter who ever monopolized the patronage of any society. Kneller had facility—he could pose a sitter as well as most modern photographers! and he could draw. But his portraits, with scarcely an exception, proclaim so frankly that his chief, if not his only preoccupation, was with the satisfaction of his patrons at the least possible outlay of thought and muscle, that we can neither look at nor remember them for more than a few minutes at a time. His success was fatal to English painting during his life. It set a measure to which others had to dance, on pain of starvation. Among those Englishmen who worked between the death of Lely and the advent of Hogarth we can descry, now and then, signs of a gift which might have developed richly had the Kneller tyranny been removed. With Kneller himself these pages are hardly concerned. His pictures vary in merit from examples of what may be called vigorous facility to performances without even facility to recommend them. Among the best may be named two portraits at Oxford, *Bishop Atterbury* and *Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Bart.*, both at Christ Church; and *Godert de Ginkel, Earl of Athlone*, in the Irish National Gallery. Much of the *Ginkel*, however, is calmly appropriated from a *Charles I* of Van Dyck! The contemporaries of Kneller were so faithful to his example that their work need hardly be mentioned separately. In Michael Dahl, the Swede, still more in the Scot, Jeremiah Davison, and the Englishman, Jonathan Richardson, we divine powers which might have led to better things had the Lubecker stayed in his own country. Lord Morton owns a large picture by Davison, at Dalmahoy, near Edinburgh, which implies very considerable ability; another belongs to Mr. Stopford Sackville, at Drayton House, Northamptonshire. Both of these are signed. Jonathan Richardson shows both courage in the attack and skill in the solution of a difficult problem in his whole length of *Sir Hans Sloane*, in the Bodleian. The last painter of this stem who need here be noticed was Thomas Hudson, the pupil of Richardson and the master of Reynolds. He seems to have been of an amiable character on the whole, and not so incapable a painter as used to be supposed. It is difficult to form a trustworthy idea of his powers, however, as he painted little but the heads and hands, leaving all the rest to his drapery men, who varied greatly in capacity. The portrait of Samuel Scott, in the National Gallery, is warm and luminous, but others are mechanical and cold to the last degree.

Here I must hark back for a moment to record the beginnings of

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a form of art which has never, in modern times, been popular in England: I mean the painting of walls and ceilings in secular buildings. The oldest and the best example we can point to is the Rubens ceiling of the Banqueting House, Whitehall, which has recently been restored for at least the fourth time. The master took immense pains with this composition. A large number of preparatory sketches and studies are in existence, which make it probable that when the ceiling was in its pristine glory it was one of his best things of the kind. The subject, the History of James I, is divided into nine compartments, each painted on canvas and attached afterward. They were fixed in their places between the end of 1635 and the middle of 1636. The price paid to Rubens was £3,000, equal to about £10,000 at the present day.

The first English work of the kind still extant is the ceiling of the Sheldonian Theatre. This was painted in 1669 by Robert Streater, Sergeant Painter to King Charles II. He also painted a reredos for All Souls' College, which was removed about 1872, when the remains of the magnificent Gothic reredos (Fig. 119), since restored, were brought to light. The chief characteristic of the Sheldonian ceiling is its complete

lack of decorative value. Another painter employed on somewhat similar work at Oxford was Isaac Fuller, already mentioned as the master of John Riley. Fuller was born in 1606, and received a certain amount of training in Paris, under François Perrier. His own portrait, a work of much character, is at Queen's College. The fame of these works—for they were all famous in their day—brought the usual irruption of second-rate foreigners into the country. England was full of buildings in which blank walls cried out for decoration, and these, instead of being used to encourage and educate our own painters, were handed over light-heartedly to first one and then another alleged artist who would have been better employed in blacking shoes. Verrio and Laguerre both had ability of a kind, but it was ability entirely divorced from any perception of what was fitting in the decoration of an architectural monument.



FIG. 314.—GODERT DE GINKEL. (KNELLER.)
National Gallery, Dublin.

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Verrio was the greater offender of the two. He had much neo-Italian vulgarity ; while Laguerre had a redeeming touch of what



FIG. 315.—CHIFFINCH.—(JOHN RILEY.)
National Portrait Gallery.

the Goncourts call the *mauvais bon-gout* of the Frenchman. Verrio's least offensive performance is probably the great saloon at Burghley, while Laguerre never did better than in his work for Sir Godfrey Kneller, at Whitton Hall, now called Kneller Hall, near Twickenham. One of the worst examples of Verrio's particular form of vulgarity is the decoration of the "King's Great Staircase" at Hampton Court, where he carried out his tasteless trick of abolishing real coves, cornices, and pilasters for the sake of showing how well he could imitate them in paint.

It was probably the success of these men in winning commissions that led young James Thornhill, a cadet of an old but impoverished family "of that ilk," to turn his attention to the same form of art. He is distinguished from his foreign rivals by greater reticence, and a better sense of what the occasion required, if not by power. His paintings in the dome of St. Paul's show that with more experience he might have become an acceptable decorator. They are conceived, at least, in the right spirit, of dependence on the architecture. His son-in-law, Hogarth, painted wall pictures also, *The Good Samaritan* and *The Pool of Bethesda*, in St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

A Scotsman, Alexander Runciman (1736–1785), showed more power in this same class of art. He decorated the great saloon of Penicuik House, near Edinburgh, with scenes from Ossian, and a cupola in the same house with scenes from the life of St. Margaret of Scotland. The Ossian decorations were destroyed by fire in 1899, but not before the writer had seen them. They were too low in tone for their purpose, but otherwise showed great ability. John Runciman (1744–1768), Alexander's younger brother, showed high promise in the same direction during his short life.

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The last achievements of this Rubens-born movement were the decoration of the great room of the Society of Arts by James Barry, which was carried out between the years 1777 and 1780, and the painting of the grand staircase at Burghley, Northamptonshire, by Thomas Stothard, between 1780 and 1783 (Fig. 372). Such work of the same class as England has produced in later years has had a different inspiration.

The chief cause of the English failure to do much in the way of monumental painting has been our habit of putting amateurs—at the best—in positions of control over such matters, and making them responsible for success or failure. The best road to success is through the want of it, but then you must be in a position to form a right judgment as to the causes of failure. Instead of being frightened by an initial catastrophe, the man who knows clears away its results and tries again. This is too much to expect of amateurs, and less than amateurs—Bishops, Generals, Speakers, Black Rods, Junior Lords of the Treasury, etc. They cannot profit by failure, for they cannot really grasp its causes, and are forced to believe that the only safe proceeding is to abandon operations. In all our attempts at monumental decoration in the Houses of Parliament, for instance, the causes of positive failure are obvious to those who have trained their faculties to see them. If our rulers would only brace their nerves to a new beginning, and start by putting the management of the whole business into the hands of some individual who had proved his capacity by his own work, they would almost certainly endow their country with a palace as dignified internally as it is externally. What has been done in the City, in the Royal Exchange, shows both the competence of many of our painters and the absurdity of our lay methods. There you may find not a few well-conceived wall pictures—those, for instance, of Mr. Abbey and Mr. Macbeth—but the enterprise, as a whole, is totally ruined by the remarkable procedure of allowing independent commissions to be given, and every artist to play his own tune. How could harmony be even hoped for from such a way of going to work?

For Bibliography see end of Chapter XVI.



FIG. 316.—MARRIAGE À LA MODE. BREAKFAST SCENE. (HOGARTH.) National Gallery.



FIG. 317.—MARRIAGE À LA MODE. TOILET SCENE. (HOGARTH.) National Gallery.



FIG. 318.—REYNOLDS. (BY HIMSELF.)
Royal Academy.



FIG. 319.—RAEBURN. (BY HIMSELF.)
National Gallery, Edinburgh.

CHAPTER XIV

PAINTING—MIDDLE PERIOD

THE history of English painting, from the destruction of its ancient nurseries, the monasteries, down to the second quarter of the eighteenth century, is, then, the history of a struggle against foreign invasion. On two occasions the invaders were both capable and benign, capable of setting a great example and willing to let the native profit by it. But as a rule, they were men who either were or ought to have been failures at home, coming here to draw upon the deeper and more facile purses of the north-western barbarian. It was not a healthy struggle. It was between men patronized for their foreign birth—as artists, of all kinds, ever have been in modern England—and men who thought their only chance of success lay in imitating the methods of their rivals. Thus we always had mediocrity on the one hand, and insincerity on the other.



FIG. 320.—HIS OWN SERVANTS. (HOGARTH.)
National Gallery.

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FIG. 321.—SHRIMP GIRL. (HOGARTH.)
National Gallery.

were a declaration of war against the empty conventions which had ruled between the death of Lely and that of Kneller. They encouraged those of his fellow-countrymen who had art in them to be true to their own feelings, instead of seeking out and adopting half



FIG. 323.—DR. JOHNSON. (REYNOLDS.)
National Gallery.

At the end of the seventeenth century, however, fortune sent a deliverer.

William Hogarth was exactly the type of man required by English art at the time of his birth. He was not only a great artist, he was an organizer of resistance. He rallied the forces of English painting, which had been dispersed in the overthrow of the old religion, and, by tongue and pen as well as example, prepared people's minds for the notion that art was not an exotic. His own early portraits



FIG. 322.—GARRICK BETWEEN TRAGEDY AND COMEDY. (REYNOLDS.)
Lord Rothschild.

understood formulæ from third rate Continental studios. In spite of the extreme contrast between their works, one is tempted to compare Hogarth with Watteau. Both men understood that their fellow-countrymen had got into an *impasse*, and both—Hogarth deliberately, Watteau in obedience to a less conscious impulse—set themselves to lay a new foundation on ideas of their own, which they felt to be racial.

Hogarth was born in Bartholo-
180

PEG WOFFINGTON
By William Hogarth
(Sir Edward Tennant's Collection)

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At the end of the seventeenth century, however, fortune sent a deliverer. William Hogarth was exactly the type of man required by English art at the time of his birth. He was not only a great artist, he was an organizer of resistance. He rallied the forces of English painting, which had been dispersed in the overthrow of the old religion, and, by tongue and pen as well as example, prepared people's minds for the notion that art was not illicit.

By William Hogarth
(Sir Edward Tennant's Collection)

were to be made. I was against the old conventions which had been the death of the great of former times. I encouraged those of my countrymen who had been taught to be true to their own art, instead of seeking to imitate half



FIG. 222.—GARRICK BETWEEN TRAGEDY AND COMEDY. (ROTHSCHILD.)
Lord Rothschild.



By Sir Joshua Reynolds (Royal Academy)
National Gallery.

understood formulae from third rate Continental studios. In spite of the extreme contrast between their works, one is tempted to compare Hogarth with Watteau. Both men understood that their fellow-countrymen had got into an *impasse*, and both—Hogarth deliberately, Watteau in obedience to a less conscious impulse—set themselves to lay a new foundation on ideas of their own, which they felt to be racial.

Hogarth was born in Bartholo-
180



PAINTING—MIDDLE PERIOD



FIG. 324.—TWO GENTLEMEN. (REYNOLDS.)
National Gallery.



FIG. 325.—NELLY O'BRIEN. (REYNOLDS.)
Wallace Collection.

mew Close, on the 10th of November, 1697. He began active life as apprentice to a silversmith; but at the age of twenty-one forsook the engraving of ornaments and coats of arms on silver for copper-plate engraving for the booksellers. In 1730 he married the daughter of Sir James Thornhill and began to paint portraits and those "moralities" on which his fame now mainly rests. In 1753 he added authorship to his other accomplishments, publishing that "Analysis of Beauty" which deserves so much more respect than it has ever won. In 1757 he was appointed Sergeant Painter to the King, and in 1764 he died.

Antaeus has seen himself repeated again and again in art history. When painting has fallen to be a mere conventional habit, it has been revived by seeking earth. Some man, or group of men, has insisted on returning to the primitive foundations of nature, to gather new strength, and prepare for a new bloom. Hogarth was the pre-Raphaelite movement of the eighteenth century. He turned his back on the empty, weak-kneed graces of Kneller and his following, and



FIG. 326.—GIBBON. (REYNOLDS.)
From Print.

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shouted to English art to turn its face to realities with him. His invitation was not consciously accepted, but it had its effect. It shook



FIG. 327.—DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE AND BABY.
(REYNOLDS.) Duke of Devonshire.

the belief in formulæ and made painters think, with the result that before the middle of the century English painting had entirely changed its complexion, and from being the most feebly conventional, had become, of all European schools, the most robust and most promising for the future.

It is only within the last decade or two that we have begun to understand Hogarth. It used to be

the fashion to speak of him as a sort of showman in paint. His pictures were discussed as if their only claims to admiration lay in the stories they told. The truth is that Hogarth combined the



FIG. 328.—AGE OF INNOCENCE.
(REYNOLDS.) National Gallery.

powers of a consummate technical painter, of a true artist, and of a story-teller, more completely than any other man had ever done before. His "moralities" not only wed good design to dramatic force, they make each depend on the other, so that we can scarcely tell whether we admire a passage for its pictorial or its dramatic qualities. Fortunately, our public and semi-public collections are rich in his works. The National Gallery possesses sixteen, including the *Marriage à la Mode*, the *Shrimp Girl*, the portraits of himself with his dog, of his sister, and of Quin, the actor, the *Calais Gate*, and the wonderful group

of his servants' heads. The National Portrait Gallery has a fascinating little picture of himself at his easel. In the Soane

PAINTING—MIDDLE PERIOD

Museum are the *Rake's Progress*, and the *Election Series*; in the Foundling Hospital the full length of Captain Coram, the *March*



FIG. 329.—MISS MONCKTON. (REYNOLDS.)
From Print.

of the Guards to Finchley, and the appropriate *Finding of Moses*; St. Bartholomew's has the two wall pictures, *The Good Samaritan* and the *Pool of Bethesda*, which cannot be numbered among his successes; while good examples are to be found in the National Gallery of Ireland; the Royal Academy; the British Museum; the Fitzwilliam Museum, at Cambridge; and the Royal Collections. Among private collections, that of Lord Ilchester is the richest, chiefly through the presence there of the *Scene from the "Indian Emperor; or, Conquest of Mexico,"* one of the best of all Hogarth's pictures from the executive standpoint.

Hogarth delayed the recognition of his own genius by his



FIG. 330.—MRS. STONE NORTON.
(GAINSBOROUGH.)
Mr. A. de Rothschild.



FIG. 331.—HON. MRS. GRAHAM.
(GAINSBOROUGH.)
National Gallery, Edinburgh.



FIG. 332.—GAINSBOROUGH.
(BY HIMSELF.) Royal Academy.

we may call him, of the modern school of painting—Sir Joshua Reynolds. In Sir Joshua's published writings, however, scarcely an allusion to Hogarth is to be found.

Sir Joshua was Hogarth's junior by nearly a generation. He was born in Devonshire in 1723. At the age of eighteen he entered the studio of Thomas Hudson, having already acquired



FIG. 333.—MRS. SIDDONS.
(GAINSBOROUGH.) National Gallery.

chauvinistic pen. His diatribes against foreigners, against the collection of "old masters," against traditional likes and dislikes generally, may have been required by the state of opinion; but he suffered through being their author. They isolated him, and made the very men who profited by his ideas shrink from accepting their propounder as a leader. The new independence was his creation, but more than a century had to pass before the fact was acknowledged. His example and expressed opinions had a great effect upon the next innovator—the second founder,

some little degree of skill at home. Two years later, having had one of those quarrels with his master which seem *de rigueur* with gifted artists, he returned to Devonshire, and established himself as a portrait painter at Plymouth Dock, as Devonport was then called. In 1746 he came to London, and then, in 1749, he started on a voyage to the Mediterranean, with Commodore Keppel, which was to end in a three years' stay in Italy, passed mostly in Rome. In 1752 he returned to London, where he spent the rest of his life. In 1768

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he became first President of the Royal Academy, and in 1792 he died.

If the leading qualities of Hogarth were the perfectly coherent ones of disrespect, independence, and a determination to build his monument on foundations of his own, those of Reynolds were the apparently inconsistent ones of respect for established reputations and a strong bent toward thinking for himself. Much of his intellectual activity was directed toward discovering good reasons for allowing fifth-rate artists to enjoy first-rate reputations, and yet in his own practice, he was one of the most thoughtful and various of painters, and one of the least tolerant of all that was stereotyped and perfunctory.

The great distinction of Sir Joshua's art, the characteristic which



FIG. 334.—LADY MULGRAVE.
(GAINSBOROUGH.) Groult Collection.



FIG. 335.—MISS HAVERFIELD.
(GAINSBOROUGH.) Wallace Collection.



FIG. 336.—BLUE BOY.
(GAINSBOROUGH.) Duke of Westminster.

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sets it apart from that of anyone else, is its variety. In other matters he had his superiors. But in the variety which comes



FIG. 337.—WATERING PLACE. (GAINSBOROUGH.)
National Gallery.

naturally from a mind always active, always interested, always taking a new initiative, no painter of his age approached him. Every picture he painted, even when it was only a head, represented a conscious exertion of the mind. And he was moved by beauty; he was preoccupied with color, with the texture of paint, even with the melody of line, which last has not always appealed to the English-

man. His early pictures—those painted before his establishment in London in 1752—betray the influence of Hogarth, Gandy of Exeter, and Rembrandt. Some caricatures painted in Rome are especially Hogarthian in their excellent technique. Four of these (the most important a parody on Raphael's *School of Athens*, in which the men who formed the English coterie in Rome are substituted for the Greek philosophers) are in the Irish National Collection. But the second half of the eighteenth century was not far advanced before Reynolds had shaken down into a style which can be recognized as his own at a glance. During the last thirty years of his activity he talked Michael Angelo and the Bolognese; but while he talked he kept his eye on Venice, and made many dangerous experiments in the attempt to capture her charm. It is probable that in their early freshness, as they appeared on the walls of Somerset House, many of his pictures had a splendor of color unsurpassed even by Titian.

Reynolds is not well represented in our public galleries. Pictures by him exist in private hands which give a higher idea of his powers than anything to be found in the national collections. Such pictures are the *Lady Crosbie*, in Sir Edward Tennant's collection, the *Duchess of Devonshire with her Daughter* (Fig. 327), in the Duke of Devonshire's possession, *Garrick between Tragedy and Comedy* (Fig. 322), which belongs to Lord Rothschild, several of



FIG. 338.—THE MORNING WALK; PORTRAITS OF SQUIRE AND MRS. HALLETT.
(GAINSBOROUGH.) Lord Rothschild.

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the pictures at Althorp, Lord Leicester's *Charles James Fox, Master Crewe*, at Crewe Hall, and the great family picture at Blenheim



FIG. 339.—LANDSCAPE. (GAINSBOROUGH.)
Mrs. Joseph.

In many ways Gainsborough was the antithesis of Sir Joshua, which makes it difficult to avoid a comparison when writing of their art. Gainsborough was the younger by four years. He was



FIG. 340.—MRS. ROBINSON. (GAINSBOROUGH.)
Wallace Collection.

of the Duke of Marlborough with his wife and children. But the *Lord Heathfield*, the *Lady Cockburn and her Children*, the *Angels' Heads*, the *Age of Innocence* (Fig. 328), and the three Montgomeries as *The Graces*, in the National Gallery, with the *Nelly O'Brien*, the *Mrs. Carnac*, and others in the Wallace Collection, make a better show for Reynolds than we can point to for his great rival Gainsborough.

born in Suffolk in 1727. With the exception of the years between 1741 and 1746, which he spent in London as the pupil, successively, of Gravelot, the French illustrator and engraver, and Francis Hayman, his whole active career divides itself into three periods of fourteen years each: from 1746 to 1760 at Ipswich; from 1760 to 1774 at Bath; from 1774 to his death in 1788 in London. He never left his own country, and within it his travelling was confined to one or two excursions into Wales and the north of England. His development was quite normal. He began by painting with extreme care and finish, in a style obviously based on the Dutch pictures which

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were at that time present in considerable numbers in East Anglia. His early landscapes remind one of Wynants, his early figures of Metsu or Terborch. In Bath his design became broader and more highly organized, his brushing freer and more personal, and his color warmer. In London all these developments became more assured, but there is no such breach of continuity between his Bath and his London manner as used to be asserted. Between Ipswich and Bath there is such a breach. In Suffolk his masters were the Dutchmen. At Bath and in its neighborhood he was brought face to face with Van Dyck, and soon drew himself out of the prim, collected manner of Ipswich, to put on some, at least, of the swing and freedom of the great cosmopolitan.

It is impossible to reach a complete idea of Gainsborough's powers from our public collections. In London, the National Gallery has one first-rate portrait in the *Mrs. Siddons* (Fig. 333), and one fine landscape in *The Watering Place* (Fig. 337). The Wallace Collection owns the *Mary Robinson* (Fig. 340) and *Miss Haverfield* (Fig. 335). The famous *Mrs. Graham* (Fig. 331) hangs in the Scottish Gallery. Against each of these, however, some slight objection can be urged. The red curtain behind the head of Siddons is not all it should be, the *Perdita Robinson* is hardly a design, the *Mrs. Graham* has not yet completely thrown off the effects of her fifty years in the dark, and *The Watering Place* is very low in tone. The value of a fine Gainsborough is now so enormous that the nation is never likely to get another, so the student who wishes to know what he could do at his happiest moment must see *The Morning Walk* and *Mrs. Sheridan*, at Lord Rothschild's; the *Miss Linley and her Brother*, at Knole; the *Mall*, in Sir Audley Neeld's collection at Grittleton; the three portraits of ladies in Mr. Alfred de Rothschild's dining-room in Seamore Place; the *Blue Boy* at Grosvenor House; the *Lady Mulgrave*, in the collection of the late M. Groult; and as many



FIG. 341.—LADY BEAUCHAMP PROCTOR.
(ROMNEY.) Mr. L. Raphael.



FIG. 342.—CHILDREN OF EARL GOWER.
(ROMNEY.) Duke of Sutherland.

He beat Reynolds, too, in technique, for his pictures stand like rocks, when not violently interfered with, and his manner—"all those odd scratches and marks . . . this chaos, this uncouth and shapeless appearance," to use Sir Joshua's own words—leads through freedom up to unity with an unerring directness rivalled only by the greatest executants, by men like Franz Hals, Rubens, Velazquez, Raeburn, Manet, and Sargent.



FIG. 343.—LADY ARABELLA WARD.
(ROMNEY.) Viscount Bangor.

as possible of the wonderful drawings which earn a place for Gainsborough among the great masters of the point.

For if Reynolds was various in one way, his rival was various in another. "D—him! how various he is!" Gainsborough is said to have exclaimed before the President's pictures in the exhibition. But he himself had his own variety, for he excelled in portraits, in landscape, as an *animalier*, and as a maker of drawings.

The third member of the triumvirate by whom the ground floor of the edifice of English painting was raised on the foundations laid by Hogarth was Gainsborough's junior by seven years and Sir Joshua's by eleven. George Romney was born at Dalton, in Lancashire, at the end of 1734. He contrived to educate himself as a painter with no better help than that of one Steele, a strolling artist who pervaded the northern counties at the time. This was a great achievement, for Romney became an excellent draughtsman and a master of technique in its wider sense very early in his career. In 1756 he married, and settled in Kendal as

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a portrait painter. In 1762 he came to London, leaving his wife and two children in the North. In 1773 he went to Italy, where he stayed two years. Returning to London in 1775, he settled in Cavendish Square, and there divided the patronage of the town with Reynolds and Gainsborough. About 1795 he moved to Hampstead, where he built himself a studio which now forms part of the local Conservative club. In 1799 he went back to Kendal, dying three years later in the presence of a wife and son whom he had only seen at very long intervals since he had left home nearly forty years before.

Romney's popularity has fluctuated more than that of any other English painter of importance. Forty years ago his pictures were entirely neglected. Their market value was trifling, and his name was never mentioned except as that of an artist who had sunk beneath the surface. This state of things was due partly, if not wholly to the mere fact that his works were out of sight. The



FIG. 344.—EUPHROSYNE. (ROMNEY.)
From Print.



FIG. 345.—MRS. CURRIE.
(ROMNEY.) National Gallery.



FIG. 346.—MRS. JORDAN. (ROMNEY.)
From Print.

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FIG. 347.—LADY LOUISA CONNOLLY.
(ALLAN RAMSAY.) Holland House.

difficult to name a picture, in any school, which unites modernity with genuine classical feeling as happily as the *Children of Earl Gower*—who “*dansent en rond*” (Fig. 342). It is a delicious picture, conceived on lines which have led to boredom in other hands.



FIG. 348.—PAUL SANDBY.
(COTES.) National Gallery.

national collections contained none of any importance and the country houses were not public. Another cause, however, was the character of his genius. In one respect Romney appeals to the crowd: he is the painter, *par excellence*, of the pretty Englishwoman. No one has succeeded so well as he in putting on canvas the sort of head an English novelist selects for his heroine. But, artistically, Romney was somewhat of an exotic. His gift was more Latin than that of any other important English painter. He thought in line, and is, in his best work, more akin to French masters of black and white, and—to make a very long stride—to the Greek sculptors, than to his own British contemporaries. It would be

It is essentially a design. Its color is used in the spirit of the map-maker, to distinguish between one province and another. And yet it is good color in its way. Romney's workmanship was so clean—his brushing so prompt and free from confusion or repetition—that his color has remained transparent and luminous, and therefore not too unpleasant even when slightly hot. But perhaps the most surprising thing about Romney is the early mastery of academic virtues which he won. So far as we know, he had nothing that would now be called a training, and yet his first



FIG. 340.—HORACE WALPOLE.
(NATHANIEL HONE.)

tion a fine and famous head of the seven pictures in the National Gallery include nothing in the first flight, and examples are almost entirely absent from the provincial museums. His finest works are in the collections of the Duke of Sutherland (*Gower Children*, Fig. 342, and *Lord Stafford in a Van Dyck Dress*), Sir George Russell (*Mrs. Russell and Child*), Lord Powis (*Hon. Charlotte Clive*), Lord Iveagh (*Lady Hamilton Spinning*), Lord Bangor (*Lady Arabella Ward*, Fig. 343), Lord Warwick (*Lady Warwick and her Children* and *Miss Vernon as Hebe*), Sir Edward Tennant (*Mrs. Jordan*, Fig. 346, and *Countess of Derby*), Lord Cathcart (*Countess of Mansfield*), Mr. Leopold Hirsch (*Mrs. Raikes*), Mr. C. Wertheimer (*Ladies Caroline and Elizabeth Spencer* and *Mrs. Johnson*), Sir Hugh Cholmeley (*Catherine and Sarah Cholmeley*), Mr. L. Raphael (*Lady Beauchamp Proctor*, Fig. 341, and *Lady Prescott and Family*), Mr. Tankerville Chamberlain (*Lady Hamilton*

London portraits are notable for excellent drawing, and for a skill and taste in the disposition of drapery which no one has surpassed. They hold their own with the deliberate classicisms of Louis David and other French painters of the Revolution.

Romney has been still less fortunate than Reynolds and Gainsborough in his fight for publicity. Scarcely any picture showing him quite at his best has won its way into a national collection. The London Portrait Gallery, indeed, has a head of himself, one of the best self-portraits left by any painter, and the Wallace Collec-

tion of "Perdita" Robinson; but the of "Perdita" Robinson; but the



FIG. 350.—CAROLINE LADY HOLLAND.
(ALLAN RAMSAY.) Holland House.

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FIG. 351.—MRS. MARGARET CROWE. (OPIE.)

as a *Bacchante*), and Mr. Ralph Bankes (*Miss Woodley*, afterward Mrs. Bankes).

Side by side with these three men Richard Wilson was doing for landscape painting what they were doing for portraits. Born in 1713, he was senior to them all, but it was not until his return to London from Italy, in 1755, that he renounced portraiture, in which he had won a certain measure of success. The credit of the change has been put down to Zuccarelli, who saw some of the Englishman's sketches in Rome and strongly advised him to devote his powers

to the painting of landscape. It is probable enough that his advice would not have been so readily taken had not the appearance of Sir Joshua, Gainsborough, and Romney narrowed existing opportunities in the other *genre*. Wilson, like the three portrait painters, had his roots in tradition, but his head was in the sun. In his methods, and even in his ideals, we can trace the influence of Claude, of Lucatelli, of Panini, of Zuccarelli; but this debt he supplements with his own gift of design and sense of beauty, his own poet's

imagination and freshness of interest in the power of art to suggest romance and Italy. At his best he has a distinction not again to be reached before the flowering of Corot. He has depth, repose, and essential humanity. Unfortunately he is not always, or often, at his best. His life was a struggle and he painted too much, so that many canvases which quite correctly bear his name represent him at moments when interest and inspiration were asleep. As a whole, however, he was a true, life-giving painter, and so has had a following. In his own time,



FIG. 352.—GARRICK. (R. E. PINE.) From Print.



FIG. 353.—LADY. (HOPPNER.)

Mrs. Trevor Martin.



FIG. 354.—LADY. (HOPPNER.)

however, the only artist of any power who was much affected by his example was the Irishman, George Barret, whose later works betray a close study of Wilson and are sometimes catalogued under his name. Other disciples, such as Farrington and William Hodges, were comparatively powerless. Wilson's death occurred in 1782.

Wilson's best pictures are, as a rule, comparatively small, simple compositions, broad in handling, finely balanced in design, luminous in color. Two little *Scenes in Italy* in the National Gallery are of delightful quality, reminding us of Guardi by their freedom and of Chardin by their crumby paste. His more ambitious efforts, such as the *Niobe* in the National Gallery, of which Sir Joshua made rather tasteless fun in his fourteenth discourse, are less satisfactory. In his preoccupation with gods and goddesses he loses the transparent color and the unity of design on which his charm depends.

The spirit of modern painting—for through it all runs a thread of unity—springs from the example



FIG. 355.—PORTRAIT OF A LADY.
(HOPPNER.) Mrs. Fleischmann.

ART IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND



FIG. 356.—PORTRAIT OF A LADY. (HOPPNER.)
Mrs. Trevor Martin.

of these five Englishmen: Hogarth, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Romney, and Wilson: supplemented by that of one later man of genius, in Constable. Their activity covered the years between 1735 and 1795, and it breathed a new vitality into an art which was practically moribund. Good painters existed elsewhere, of course: Antonio Canale and Giambattista Tiepolo in Italy, Watteau and Chardin in France, were no mean successors to the best who had gone before. But they *were* successors. Their art was in the sunset rather than

the sunrise. And delightful as we find it, it was rather a solace than a stimulus. Some might say the same of Wilson. But so far as his art was retrospective it deserved and won little attention. His influence rested upon his development of the natural capacities of landscape, in color and atmosphere.

Side by side with these originators a number of men were



FIG. 357.—SISTERS FRANKLAND.
(HOPPNER.) From Print.



FIG. 358.—DOUGLAS CHILDREN.
(HOPPNER.) From Print.

PAINTING—MIDDLE PERIOD

producing pictures of sufficient merit to give them a right to places in a biographical dictionary. The most attractive, both as an artist and as a man, was the Scotsman, Allan Ramsay. He was born in Edinburgh, in 1713, the son of Allan Ramsay, the poet and bookseller. At the age of sixteen he became a foundation member of the short-lived Academy of St. Luke in Edinburgh. About 1734 he came to London for a time, went on, two years later, to Italy, returned to Edinburgh in 1739, and finally established himself in London in 1752. In 1767 he became Painter in Ordinary to George III, and in 1784 he died.

Ramsay has hitherto been robbed of his deserts by the foisting of bad pictures with which he had nothing to do into his *oeuvre*, by the failure of any good example of his powers to win entrance to a metropolitan gallery, and by his unfitness for the post of portrait-maker to the King. The Scottish national collection has a delicious half-length of his wife, a niece of the great Lord Mansfield. A fine male portrait is in the National Gallery of Ireland; and the collections of Lord Lothian, Lord Stair, Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael, and Mr. Thomas Baring have good examples. Holland House is rich in his works (Figs. 347, 348). With more self-confidence Ramsay would have been one of the best painters of the eighteenth century. The pictures he carried out with his own hand are distinguished by an exquisite sensibility, by a reserve and lightness of execution which occasionally border on timidity. In color



FIG. 359.—LADY STEUART OF COLTNESS.
(RAEBURN.) Mrs. Fleischmann.



FIG. 360.—LORD NEWTON. (RAEBURN.)
National Gallery, Edinburgh.



FIG. 361.—MRS. JAMES CAMPBELL.
(RAEBURN.) Mr. Lionel Muirhead.

all these were able to turn out good pictures on occasion, and it is much to be regretted that no provision now exists for collecting examples of their work for the nation. They had one great quality in common: they could all *paint*. The meagre, starved impasto, the paint rubbed into the canvas rather than laid upon it, of which



FIG. 362.—MRS. FERGUSSON. (RAEBURN.)

they show a pink suffusion which is characteristic.

To certain other painters whose careers coincided, more or less, with those of the epoch-making five, allusion must be brief. Francis Hayman (1708–1776) is now remembered chiefly because Gainsborough was his pupil. Arthur Pond (1705–1758, Fig. 375), Joseph Highmore (1692–1780), George Knapp (1698–1778), Arthur Devis the elder (1711–1787), Nathaniel Hone (1718–1784), Tilly Kettle (1740–1786), Henry Walton (1720?–1790?), Charles Brooking (1723–1753) the sea painter (Fig. 376);

we have seen too much since, looks wretched indeed beside the fat, frank, and free handling of the old English school.

The effect of good example on those who immediately followed Sir Joshua, Gainsborough and Romney, was like that of warm rain on a parched garden. The dryness disappeared, and even when no high degree of merit was reached, art with life in its veins shot up all over the country. The second-rate men who worked between the middle of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth were no longer mere repeaters of a pattern, depending on journeymen



FIG. 363.—NATHANIEL SPENS. (RAEBURN.) Archer's Hall, Edinburgh.



FIG. 364.—SIR JOHN SINCLAIR OF
ULBSTER. (RAEBURN.)

and he died in 1770. But as an oil painter he was so severely influenced by Reynolds, that he must take a place among his disciples. At the end of his comparatively short life his pictures became so like those of the President, that several have since been sold as Sir Joshua's, and even exhibited at the "Old Masters" as such without exciting much protest.



FIG. 365.—MAJOR CLUNES.
(RAEBURN.)
National Gallery, Edinburgh.

for the minor details of their work. They were modest artists, trying, at least, to say something in their selected medium. They included one man of genius, in Hoppner, and many painters of ability: Francis Wheatley (1747–1801), Thomas Beach (1738–1806), Nathaniel Dance (1735–1811), John Opie (1761–1807), Wright of Derby (1734–1797), Robert Edge Pine (1730–1788), Hugh D. Hamilton (1734 ?–1805), John Downman (1750–1824), whose stained drawings now enjoy such a vogue, and Francis Cotes (1725–1770). Cotes, whom I have named last, really belonged to the same generation as Sir Joshua, for he is supposed to have been born in 1725,

Hoppner himself, fine painter as he was, would never have produced the works for which the world competes so eagerly to-day, had not Sir Joshua lived before him. Hoppner was of German extraction, but nothing could be less Teutonic than his art: unless, indeed, his tendency to heat, as a colorist, was due to his blood. He was born in 1759, and began life as a chorister in the Chapel Royal. When his voice broke he took to another form of art, and became a Royal Academy student. Through the patronage of the Prince of Wales he soon conquered the town, sharing its favors with Lawrence for nearly twenty years.

PAINTING—MIDDLE PERIOD

He died, not quite sane, in 1810.

Hoppner has been even more unlucky than Ramsay in failing to make his proper entry into the nation's collections. No idea of his powers can be formed from the National or the Portrait Gallery, and he is almost entirely absent from the provincial museums. His best pictures have been changing hands frequently of late years, under the stress of enormous prices. The fine group of the four Douglas children (Fig. 358), which used to be in Lord Morton's collection at Dalmahoy, is now the property of Lord Rothschild. The famous *Sisters Frankland* (Fig. 357) has passed into the collection of Sir Edward Tennant. A lovely portrait of some beautiful unknown was sold for a great price at Christie's in 1905, and now belongs to Mr. C. Wertheimer. The *Lady Louisa Manners*, the group of Hoppner's own children—*Children Bathing*—Lord Darnley's *Countess of Darnley and Child*, Lord Rosebery's *William Pitt*, and a series of three beautiful portraits of beautiful women, now in the possession of Mrs. Trevor Martin, of Portland Place, for whose husband's family they were painted, are all among his best productions (Figs. 353, 354, 356).

Contemporary with Hoppner, and belonging like him to the second generation of our national portrait painters, were two men of great originality, in Raeburn and Lawrence. Raeburn was the elder. He was born in 1756, in Edinburgh, worked under David Martin, painted miniatures, and then, at the age of



FIG. 366.—J. J. ANGERSTEIN.
(LAWRENCE.) National Gallery.



FIG. 367.—MRS. WOLFF. (LAWRENCE.)
From Print.



FIG. 368.—PRINCESS CHARLOTTE.
(LAWRENCE.) Earl of Ilchester.

twenty-two, married a wife with means, who enabled him to visit Italy. After a stay there of about two years he established himself in Edinburgh, where he was undisputed head of the native school for more than a generation, and painted every one of "light and leading" in the Scottish capital with the one important exception of Robert Burns.

Raeburn holds a place in the small company of men who have been real pioneers. He was born into a country swarming with workers in the particular form of art he chose, and dominated by at least three men of genius; and yet he built up a style

which was at once obviously sincere, quite different from what he saw about him, and so truly begotten of the *métier* that it has since grown into an European ideal. So far as we can now guess, his school was the portrait of Pope Innocent X, by Velazquez, in the Doria-Pamfili palace. At least, that is the only masterpiece, in the manner which appealed to him, with which we know him to have been familiar. There is nothing to show that he ever met a Frans Hals. But a single spark is enough to set genius alight. Van Dyck became the English Van Dyck at the sight of a few miniatures by Samuel Cooper, and the Spaniard's pope was more than capable of firing the ambitions of a man like Raeburn.

Raeburn's art improved steadily from his definite settlement in Edinburgh to the end of his life. But, unlike most painters who have not stood still, he developed from a perhaps excessive breadth of touch and simplification of the planes, to a rounder modelling and a more united impasto. All his stages



FIG. 369.—LADY DOVER AND
CHILD. (LAWRENCE.)
From Print.

PAINTING—MIDDLE PERIOD

can be traced, in good examples, in the two chief Scottish collections—the Edinburgh National Gallery and the Glasgow Museum—but no other public institution has so far obtained any of his finest works. The Louvre has been especially unlucky; for of three pictures there ascribed to him, not one has any claim to be considered his! The following list is confined to what seem to me his best works:

—Edinburgh National Gallery: *Mrs. Campbell of Balliemore*, *Lord Newton* (Fig. 360), *Glen-garry* (on loan), *John Wauchope*, *Major Clune* (Fig. 365), and *His Own Portrait* (Fig. 319). Archer's Hall: *Nathaniel Spens* (Fig. 363). Trinity House, Leith: *Viscount Duncan*. Glasgow

Museum: *Mrs. W. Urquhart* and *Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster*, *Bart* (Fig. 364) on loan. Private collections: Sir George Douglas Clerk, *Sir John and Lady Clerk*; Sir Robert Dundas, *Lord President Dundas*; Mr. Munro Ferguson, *William Ferguson of*



FIG. 371.—POPE PIUS VII.
(LAWRENCE.) From Print.



FIG. 370.—MISS FARREN (LADY DERBY).
(LAWRENCE.) From Print.

Kilrie, *General Sir Ronald Ferguson*, G.C.B., *Ronald and Robert Ferguson*, and *Robert Ferguson of Raith*; Mrs. Fleischmann, *Lady Steuart of Coltness* (Fig. 359); Lord Tweedmouth, *Lady Raeburn*; Mrs. Pitman, *John Tait of Harvieston and his Grandson*; Mrs. Ernest Hills, *The Macdonalds of Clanranald*; Mr. Arthur Sanderson, *Mrs. Cruikshank*; Mr. Lionel Muirhead, *Mrs. James Campbell* (Fig. 361); Lord Moncrieff, *Rev. Sir H. Moncrieff Wellwood*; Hon. Baillie Hamilton, *The Mac Nab*; Mr. J. C. Wardrop, *James Wardrop of Torbanhill*; and Mrs. Joseph, *Male Portrait*.

ART IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Raeburn's example had its effect, of course, on his Scottish contemporaries, but only one of these rose to any great excellence, and



FIG. 372.—INTEMPERANCE. (STOTHARD.) National Gallery.

he too often found the early Victorian atmosphere stifling to his powers: I allude to Sir John Watson Gordon, whose best works are respectable echoes of Raeburn.

The originality of Lawrence was very different from that of Raeburn, but originality it

was, nevertheless. It set up a new ideal in portraiture, and had a character of its own. It will always fail to rank with the other originalities—those of Sir Joshua, Gainsborough, Romney, and Raeburn—because, in the first place, it was less essentially pictorial, and, in the second, it represented a far less admirable type of thought. But Lawrence went his own way, through the ambitions and ideas of the great time in which he lived, with a single-mindedness and belief in what he was doing which one cannot help

admiring. His art was based on the superficial aspects of things; it was nourished by glances at outsides rather than by sympathetic divinations; it appeals to us as women do at a ball, not in talks by the fireside; and it has unhappy faults of technique. For he was no colorist, and had wrong ideas about how paint should be "left"—to use Sir Joshua's phrase. But his art has that about it which makes it an insuppressible feature in



FIG. 373.—DEATH OF MAJOR PIERSON. (COPLEY.) National Gallery.

our mental visions of English society during the waning of the Georges.

PAINTING—MIDDLE PERIOD

Lawrence was born in 1769, in the same year as Wellington and perhaps Napoleon. He was a precocious genius, becoming the bread-winner of his family before he was into his teens. At the age of ten he set up as a portrait painter at Oxford, moved soon afterward to Bath, and, in his eighteenth year, established himself in London. His success was unbroken throughout life. In 1791 he was elected an A.R.A. although under the statutory age; in 1794 he became an R.A., and in 1820 P.R.A., having received the *accolade* five years previously. He died in 1830.



FIG. 374.—WHITE HORSE AND GROOM.
(STUBBS.)
National Gallery.

With regard to the national collections, the same unhappy story has to be told about him as about so many other English masters. He is quite inadequately represented in our public museums. The National Gallery has one good specimen in the half length of John Julius Angerstein (Fig. 366), whose collection formed the nucleus of the gallery. The Portrait Gallery is richer; there, among some two dozen examples, you will find three or four—*Warren Hastings*, *Thomas Campbell*, *Sir James Mackintosh*, *Wilberforce*—showing his power of head-painting at its best. But we have to go to Windsor and to private collections to learn the full extent of his powers. The following are some of his best performances:—Windsor Castle: *Pope Pius VII* (Fig. 371), *Cardinal Consalvi*; Duke of Abercorn's collection: *Four Portraits of Children*, in ovals; *Mrs. Maguire and Arthur Fitzjames*; Earl of Durham: *Master Lambton*; Duke of Sutherland: *Countess Gower and Child* and *Lady Elizabeth Belgrave*; Earl Grey's collection: *Countess Grey and Daughters*; Sir Thomas Dyke Acland's: *Lady Acland and Two Sons*; J. Pierpont Morgan, Esq.: *Miss Farren* (Fig. 370; the full length picture, formerly in the possession of Lord Wilton); Lord Annaly: *Lady Dover and Child* (Fig. 369); Mr. Moulton Barrett: *Miss Mary Moulton Barrett* ("Pinkie"); Earl of Jersey: *The Duke of Wellington* (half length, at Middleton Park, Oxfordshire); and Marquess of Londonderry: *Viscount Castlereagh*, *Viscountess Castlereagh*, and *Charles, Third Marquess of Londonderry, in Hussar Uniform* (Londonderry House).

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Lawrence was the connecting link between the splendor of English portraiture in the second half of the eighteenth century and its devitalization in the first half of the nineteenth. It is difficult to decide how far he was cause as well as illustration. But perhaps we shall be doing him no injustice if we say that his example, like that of greater men before him, worked nothing but harm. His gift, such as it was, was un-English, and in the average English imitator could lead to little but affectation. Certain it is that, by the time he was nearing the end of his career,



FIG. 375.—PEG WOFFINGTON. (POND.)
National Portrait Gallery.

all freshness and vitality had died out of portrait painting in the English capital, not to be revived again until the movement of 1850 came to make a change.

Side by side with the portrait painters, two other sets of artists pursued their ideals, with very different success. The first of these, and the nobler, according to most theorizings about art, were the "history" painters. In noticing the strain of activity which sprang from Rubens and his Whitehall ceiling, I mentioned several attempts at monumental decoration which ended in something short of complete failure, such as Barry's decoration in the Society of Arts, and Runciman's work at Penicuik. In 1773 a proposal was made which might have led to something very curious indeed, had it been accepted. This was an offer on the part of the members of the infant Royal Academy to decorate the interior of St. Paul's: to carry on, in fact, the work begun by Sir James Thornhill. This offer, although made in very generous terms, was refused. And we can hardly regret the refusal. St. Paul's was scarcely a *corpus vile* on which to make a hazardous experiment. It was much safer to let the artists try their hands on under-



FIG. 376.—SEAPIECE. (BROOKING.)
Col. Hutcheson Poë, C.B.



PAINTING—MIDDLE PERIOD

takings such as those of the publisher, Boydell. For him the best known painters of the time painted a series of pictures of Shakespeare, which were exhibited. Reynolds, Romney, Gainsborough, Northcote, Stothard, Fuseli, Smirke, Hoppner, Westall, Barry were among the contributors. Boydell's "Shakespeare" was followed by Macklin's "Bible" and Fuseli's "Newton." But all these adventures ended in artistic failure and did not even encourage further experiments in the same direction. Another influence which worked for evil in English "history" painting was the teaching of Sir Joshua. In his own hands the historical spirit often led to fine results, but the chief effect the "Lessons" would have on a young painter who wished to venture on the grand style would be to destroy his individuality and to give him a flat character.

Almost the only man to stand against the mistaken spirit of the age, and to paint history with an acceptable combination of veracity and style, was John Singleton Copley, whose *Death of Chatham* and *Death of Major Picton* (National Gallery, Fig. 373) are very good works in their way. Copley was born in 1737, in Boston, U. S. A., of an English father and Irish mother. He came to England in 1766, and here passed the rest of his life, dying in 1815 at the age of 78. He was the father of Lord Exmouth. Opie, too, originally did fairly well in the same genre. His *Murder of Riccio*, in the Guildhall, London, is at least vigor.

The only painter of religious pictures at this time who adhered to was Benjamin West. Beginning like Reynolds with a picture in which the *Death of Wolfe* was represented in a common-sense way, with British soldiers dressed in modern dress instead of Roman togas, West rapidly won the patronage and patronage of George III. This saved him for the rest of his life, but he still augmented his earnings from the Royal Academy by painting portraits and occasionally decorative panels for private individuals. Some of these latter works are more pleasing than



JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY
THE DEATH OF CHATHAM
1769

VISCOUNTESS CROSBIE, AFTERWARDS COUNTESS OF GLANDOR

By Sir Joshua Reynolds
(Sir Edward Tennant's Collection)

PAINTING—MIDDLE PERIOD

takings such as those of the publisher, Boydell. For him many of the best known painters of the time painted a series of pictures from Shakespeare, which were exhibited. Reynolds, Romney, West, Opie, Northcote, Stothard, Fuseli, Smirke, Hamilton, Westall, and Barry were among the contributors. Boydell's "Shakespeare" was followed by Macklin's "Bible" and Fuseli's "Milton." But all these adventures ended in artistic failure and did not even encourage further experiments in the same direction. Another influence which worked for evil in English "history" painting was the teaching of Sir Joshua. In his own hands the historical spirit often led to fine results, but the chief effect the "Discourses" would have on a young painter who wished to venture on the grand style would be to destroy his individuality and deprive his art of character.

Almost the only man to stand up against the mistaken spirit of the time, and to paint history with an acceptable combination of veracity and style, was John Singleton Copley, whose *Death of Chatham* and *Death of Major Pierson* (National Gallery, Fig. 373) are very good works in their way. Copley was born in 1737, in Boston, U. S. A., of an English father and Irish mother. He came to England in 1775, and here passed the rest of his life, dying in 1815 at the age of 78. He was the father of Lord Lyndhurst. Opie, too, occasionally did fairly well in the same genre. His *Murder of Riccio*, in the Guildhall, London, has at least vigor.



FIG. 377.—J. P. CURRAN. (HUGH HAMILTON.) National Gallery, Dublin.

The only painter of religious pictures at this time who need be alluded to was Benjamin West. Beginning, like Romney, with a picture in which the *Death of Wolfe* was represented in a common-sense way, with English soldiers dressed in modern uniforms instead of Roman togas, West rapidly won the admiration and patronage of George III. This sufficed him for the remainder of his life, but he supplemented his earnings from the Royal purse by painting portraits and occasionally decorative panels for private individuals. Some of these latter works are more pleasing than the

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ambitious canvases painted for the King. West was born in Pennsylvania in 1738. He came to England in 1763 and spent the rest of his life in London. He was an original member of the Royal Academy and became President at Sir Joshua's death in 1792. He died in 1820.

The one man who endeavored to walk in the footsteps of Benjamin West was Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786-1846). He attempted, to his own hurt, to put in action some of the theories of Sir Joshua Reynolds, those theories with which the President had tried to justify his own praise of what he called the Great Style in art. Haydon failed egregiously, and yet he was a man of ability in his own way. His journals and autobiography are of poignant interest. But he was without the special gifts required for success in his chosen walk, and so his life moved through one disappointment after another to a tragic close. One of his best pictures hangs in a restaurant under Charing Cross Station.

For Bibliography see end of Chapter XVI.



FIG. 378.—PANEL FOR CEILING. (WEST.)
Burlington House.



FIG. 379.—ULYSSES AND POLYPHEMUS. (TURNER.) National Gallery.

CHAPTER XV

MODERN PAINTING—TURNER TO WATTS

THE only form of landscape painting which was really encouraged in the eighteenth century was the topographical. Portraits of houses and parks were produced in great numbers and fill the country houses to this day. This form of art was followed by one painter of capacity, whose works show that under more favorable conditions he might have conquered a respectable place in our school. This was John Wootton, a pupil of Jan Wyck. He is said to have been born in 1668; he died in 1765. He painted animals, chiefly race-horses, and topographical landscapes in a style recalling Gaspar Poussin and his followers. Wootton's best works are excellent. Among the best are a series in the outer hall at Althorp. Many other respectable delineators of fact flourished during the century,



FIG. 380.—CHAPEL FIELDS, NORWICH. (CROME.) National Gallery.



FIG. 381.—PORINGLAND OAK. (CROME.)
Rev. C. J. Steward.

the most satisfactory, perhaps, being the Malton family, who enriched architectural perspectives with pictorial quality, with no little success. But landscape in the more orthodox sense was utterly neglected. Wilson contrived to make the income of a bricklayer by hawking his pictures about like boot-laces; but Gainsborough scarcely ever sold a landscape, although they covered every wall in his house, and his patrons passed them daily on their way to his sitters' chair. But a fashion arose in the country which came to the rescue of the landscape painters.

This was the custom, which has persisted ever since, of including drawing lessons in the curriculum of a polite education. Our national school of water-color painters sprang entirely from this custom, and not a few of our oil painters owed their "take off" to it also: among the latter, one of the most gifted of them all.

The second generation of English landscape painters, the generation which corresponded to that of Raeburn, Hoppner, and Lawrence, among her portrait painters, began with the birth, at the end of the third quarter of the eighteenth century, of three men of



FIG. 382.—CLAPHAM COMMON. (TURNER.)
National Gallery.

genius. The first to appear was John Crome, commonly called Old Crome, who was born at Norwich in 1769. He began life as a coach-painter, but soon forsook that *métier* to become a drawing master and landscape painter. He died at Norwich in 1821. His work united three invaluable characteristics: it was based on excellent

MODERN PAINTING FROM TURNER TO WATTS

models, it was refreshed and purified by continual reference to nature, it was inspired by sincere personal emotions and affections. The influence of Hobbema and other Dutchmen of the seventeenth century is as obvious as that of Wilson and Gainsborough, but nature breathes through all that Crome did, and his pictures have great individuality. He was



FIG. 383.—GARDEN OF THE HESPERIDES. (TURNER.)
National Gallery.

various for a landscape painter. Some of his works are as broad and "large" as those of Philip de Koninck, others carry what Ruskin called the niggling of Hobbema to an extreme. He is fairly well represented in the national collections. *Slate Quarries* and *Mousehold Heath*, in the National Gallery; *Mousehold Heath*, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and a *Landscape*, in the Tate Gallery, show different sides of his art. Another fine picture is *The Poringland Oak* (Fig. 381), in the Rev. C. J. Steward's collection, and a magnificent *Moonlight* was lent to the Franco-British exhibition by Mr. Darell Brown. Crome was the founder of the Norwich School of Painting, which will, presently, have to be noticed at greater length.

Six years later than Crome, Joseph Mallord William Turner, the son of a barber, was born in Maiden Lane, Covent Garden. His birth took place on the 23rd of April, St. George's day, a fact in which Ruskin used to take peculiar pleasure. His boyhood was passed in various home employments connected more or less closely with art, and in 1789 he entered as student of the Royal Academy. Ten years later he became an associate of the same body, and in 1802 a full member. He travelled over a large part of Western Europe in the course of his career. He painted in water color and in oil, he etched and mezzotinted, and, in short, led a more



FIG. 384.—SPITHEAD. (TURNER.) National Gallery.

ART IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

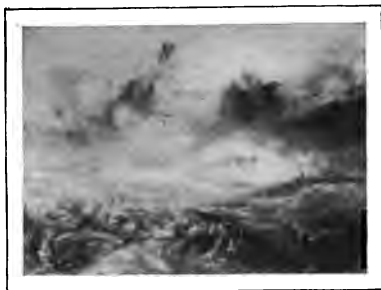


FIG. 385.—STORM. (TURNER.) Tate Gallery.

was his devotion to his own expression, and practically his one link with the world. His career has been divided, not unreasonably, into three periods: a period of literal, almost topographical, work from nature; a period of experiment with the styles of other men; and a period of free self-expression, ending with a few years of chaos through which splendid gleams of imagination strike now and then like lightning through a cloud. All these periods, but especially the two latter, may be

strenuous and universal art life than any other English painter: and he died rich.

The career of Turner was on such a scale that it is difficult to fit it into a handbook at all. He left a greater mass of work behind him than any other artist, before or since, for everything he did was done with his own hand, without help and almost in secrecy. So entire

imaginative, and yet objective, form time it became his only vehicle of



FIG. 386.—SOL DI VENEZIA. (TURNER.) National Gallery.



FIG. 387.—GIUDECCA. (TURNER.) Victoria and Albert Museum.

well studied in the collection he left to the nation. This collection consists of about one hundred finished oil pictures and many in various stages of incompleteness. Among these latter are the splendid dreamlike landscapes, carried as far as the palette knife would take them, which now hang in the Tate Gallery. Besides work in oil, the bequest enriched the

MODERN PAINTING FROM TURNER TO WATTS

nation with some nineteen thousand drawings, varying from water color pictures, in which all the resources of that medium are brought into play, to the slightest and most rapid sketches. From such a mass of work it is difficult to select a few examples to



FIG. 388.—THE VALLEY FARM. (CONSTABLE.) National Gallery.

stand for the whole, but perhaps the following may be considered fairly representative:—*Kilgarran Castle* (Lord Armstrong), *Conway Castle* (Duke of Westminster), *Fishermen on a Lee Shore* (Lord Iveagh), *Walton Bridges* (Lady Wantage), *Crossing*



FIG. 389.—SKETCH FOR THE LEAPING HORSE. (CONSTABLE.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.

the Brook (National Gallery), *Spithead: boat's crew recovering an anchor* (ditto), *Mercury and Hersé* (Lord Swaythling), *A Frosty Morning* (National Gallery), *The Deluge* (Mr. Darrell Brown), *Rock-*

ets and Blue Lights (Yerkes Collection), *Burial of Wilkie* (National Gallery), *The Fighting Téméraire* (ditto), *Ulysses deriding Polyphemus* (ditto), *The "Sun of Venice" going to Sea* (ditto), and *Rain, Steam, and Speed: the Great Western Railway* (ditto).

We shall have to return to Turner in future sections.

John Constable, who, with Crome and Turner, completes our triumvirate, was born at East Bergholt, Suffolk, in 1776. His father was a wind-miller, and Constable himself began life in the same employment. But he soon quitted it and, at the comparatively late age of twenty-four, became a student at the Royal Academy. In 1816 he married a wife with "prospects," which were fulfilled. He became an A.R.A. in 1819, an R.A. in 1829, and died in 1837.



FIG. 390.—COTTAGE IN CORNFIELD. (CONSTABLE.)

Victoria and Albert Museum.

The personal character of Constable counts for more, perhaps, in the history of modern painting than any other single force which could be named. It showed a combination at

once rare, and yet necessary for the time in which he lived. In him the instinctive, irrepressible, and yet only half-conscious desire



FIG. 391.—SKETCH FOR THE HAY WAIN. (CONSTABLE.) Victoria and Albert Museum.

for æsthetic expression was combined with an intense love for the simple forms of nature to which he was accustomed, and with a self-reliant stubbornness of will which made him unpopular as a man, but saved him from disaster as an artist. He "loved every stump, and stile, and lane in the village," but he could not paint without exercising the finest gift of objective selection landscape painter ever had, and he never felt the slightest temptation to bow to idols which were not his own. "I imagine myself to be driving a nail," he said; "I have driven it some way, and by persevering I may drive it home; by quitting it to attack others, though I may be amusing myself, I do not advance . . . while my particular nail stands still." His career was not adventurous. He sold a certain percentage of his landscapes; he occasionally painted portraits; he had a few understanding clients who not only enabled him to



FIG. 392.—VALLEY OF THE YARE. (STARK.) National Gallery.

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own and his wife's modest fortunes, but also encouraged him with their sympathy. One of these, the Rev. John Fisher, archdeacon of Salisbury, may fairly be called his earliest appreciator. Perhaps the most gratifying incident in his life was the admiration excited by certain pictures of his when exhibited in France, at the Salon in 1824, and at Lille in 1825. To these opportunities for seeing his work much of the character of modern French landscape has been justly traced.



FIG. 393.—LANDSCAPE WITH WINDMILL.
(STARK.) Mrs. Joseph.

Constable's art has always been the subject of violent, even acrimonious, discussion. Some have brought against it the absurd accusation of being too literal and imitative. Such a picture as the *Cornfield*, in the National Gallery, with its marvellous combina-

tion of objective truth and æsthetic unity, requires a finer instinct for selection, for seizing upon the things which tell, and neglecting those which do not, and for design, both at large and in detail, than anything carried out on more idealistic lines. The assertion, which was also made, that he could not draw, was equally absurd. To make out form, *in detail*, was no part of his object in his pictures. To form, at large, they are marvellously true, giving the shape, modelling, and extent of the ground and the objects it bears with unfailing truth. Even in the smallest kind of drawing, Constable was a master, as those who are familiar with his pencil drawings and his few portraits know. In short, he was a very great artist, even when divorced from his context, while as a figure in the vision of nine-



FIG. 394.—GREENWICH. (VINCENT.)
Sir Cuthbert Quilter, Bart.

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teenth century painting he stands out as the greatest liberator, inventor, and creator of them all.

Like Turner, but unlike most of the better English painters, Constable is well represented in our public collections. The National Gallery has three fine pictures of his maturity in the *Cornfield*, *The Hay Wain*, and *The Valley Farm* (Fig. 388), besides a crowd of less important things. The Diploma Gallery at Burlington House has the *Jumping Horse*, of which a superb palette knife sketch is at South Kensington (Fig. 389), together with another, equally fine, of the *Hay Wain* (Fig. 391). Besides these the Museum owns a collection of about 500 pictures and sketches in oil, water color, and "black and white," nearly all bequeathed by the painter's daughter, Miss Isabel Constable.

With the flowering of Turner and Constable the fountain of vital sap which began to rush up the stem of British art in the fourth or fifth decade of the eighteenth century lost its vigor, and painting, for a time, became a matter of routine, expressing shallow emotions and appealing to shallow admirations. There were exceptions, of course, over and above those afforded by Turner and Constable themselves; but in a general way the spirit of English painting, between the Peace of 1815 and the 1851 Exhibition, was utterly parochial.

The chief exceptions to this generalization were supplied by the Norwich School, by the School of Water-Color Painters, and by one individual artist.

The Norwich School gives the best instance to



FIG. 395.—SHIPPING AT MOUTH OF THAMES.
(COTMAN.) Victoria and Albert Museum.



FIG. 396.—CHATEAU OF THE DUCHESS DE BERRI.
(BONINGTON.) Mrs. Joseph.

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be found in English art, until quite recent years, of a body of men working on common lines and in the tradition of a



FIG. 397.—THE STABLE. (MORLAND.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.



FIG. 398.—ALDERNEY CATTLE. (WARD.)
Tate Gallery.



FIG. 399.—SUSPENSE. (LANDSEER.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.

common master. The English character does not readily adapt itself to such a system. It is at once too individualistic—"every Englishman is an island!"—and too eager to reach results. The effect of the latter characteristic is that English artists have been less thoroughly grounded in their *métier* than their continental rivals, and therefore both less able and less ready to teach. Within the last twenty years a change has taken place. We have learnt from the example of the French. Our painters have shown a new tendency to fall into groups round a central figure: and they have certainly become much better workmen. The Norwich School was distinguished by a common practice, rather than by anything that could fairly be called a principle. It was a school exclusively of landscape, accepting the nature to which it was most accustomed as its subject, painting simply and solidly, composing with care and some artificiality, never forgetting that a picture, to be framed and hung up in an English middle-class home, was the thing in making. The more

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important members, after Old Crome himself, were the Ladbrookes: Robert Ladbroke (1770–1842), the father, Henry (1800–1870), and John Bernay (1803–1879), the two sons; John Bernay Crome, "Young Crome" (1793–1842), whose best works are much better than his reputation would lead one to expect; James Stark (1794–1859); Joseph Stannard (1797–1830); George Vincent (1796–? 1830); and a man of real genius, John Sell Cotman (? 1782–1842). Few of the better works of these men have made their way into our public collections. Stark, alone, is represented in the National Gallery by a picture showing him nearly at his best. George Vincent's best work is a famous *Greenwich Hospital, from the Thames* (Fig. 394), which he painted more than once. As for Cotman, his oil pictures present great difficulties to the connoisseur. His works—or those ascribed to him—vary greatly in style and manner, and offer a promising arena to the scientific picture sorter. His water colors and designs in black and white are more homogeneous. The latter, especially, show a pictorial imagination of the highest kind. To the present writer it seems not too much to say that such designs as *Turning the Sod* (Fig. 510) and *The Centaur* (Fig. 511) in the British Museum Print Room have more imagination and a finer æsthetic unity than anything in Turner's *Liber Studiorum*. Cotman was also a remarkable etcher and draughtsman of architecture. In spite of the enhanced reputation he has lately begun to enjoy, his name is still below the place it ought to hold in the history of modern art.

A small category of painters who do not fit into any of the groups already discussed must now be noticed.



FIG. 400.—WAR. (LANDSEER.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.



FIG. 401.—CRUCIFIXION. (ETTY.)
Mr. F. Sidney.



FIG. 402.—BATHER. (ETTY.)
Tate Gallery.

I mean the animal painters. They do not come readily under other heads, because they had, as a class, a quite distinct origin. The English love of country pursuits led early to the existence of a set of men whose business it was to illustrate sports, paint the portraits of foxhounds, racehorses, and so on. Now and again one of these men would develop more talent than the rest and earn the right to be considered an artist. Wootton, already mentioned as a landscape painter (see p. 209), was one of these; another was the excellent George Stubbs (1724–1806), who painted his own type of horse with remark-

able skill and soundness; a third was the great George Morland (1763–1805), who became at once a delightful artist and one of the most consummate *painters* of modern times. Morland's breeding was essentially artistic. His grandfather, George Henry Morland (d. 1789), was not a bad painter, if the small picture ascribed to him in the Glasgow Gallery (*The Oyster Seller*) is really by him; his father, Henry Robert Morland (1730 (?)–1797), was a very good artist indeed; while his mother, Maria, at least exhibited at the R.A. George was an improvement on his father both as a painter and as a citizen, much as he left to be desired in the latter respect. For Henry Morland prostituted his talent to some undignified uses, a temptation resisted by the son even when things were at their worst. And things were bad with him nearly all through his career. His dissipations were probably less severe than has been asserted, but he always spent more than he had,



FIG. 403.—THE REFUSAL. (WILKIE.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.

and so was never free from the stress of his creditors and of those who knew how to find a harvest in his difficulties. He painted a large number of pictures, for he had extraordinary facility of invention and execution. Technically, his work has seldom been surpassed, and it also shows that he was endowed with an extraordinary feeling for beauty and artistic unity. It is difficult to say whether he excelled most as a *genre* or as an animal painter. Masterpieces in the former class are the *Lavinia* series, the *Visit to the Child at Nurse*, and *Black Monday*; in the latter, the *Interior of a Stable* (National Gallery), and *A Stable* (Fig. 397; V. and A. Museum).

Morland's brother-in-law, James Ward (1769–1859), was a fine artist in the same *genre*, although in a very different style. His manner is personal to an extreme degree, and only becomes quite acceptable in his larger pictures. *Harlech Castle*, in the National collection; two huge canvases in the Tate Gallery, *Alderney Bull, Cow, and Calf in a Landscape* (Fig. 398) and *Gordale Scar, Yorkshire*; and *St. Donat's Castle, with Bulls Fighting*, in the V. and A. Museum, show him at his best. To James Ward belongs the honor, such as it is, of having influenced the first steps in animal

painting of Sir Edwin Landseer. Landseer (1802–1873) was for many years the prime favorite of those English people who were fond of pictures but ignorant of art. His humanization of animals appealed to them, his shallowness did not shock them, while they were unable to appreciate the poverty of his color and the emptiness of his facility. So during his lifetime he enjoyed a popularity reached by



FIG. 404.—THE SONNET. (MULREADY.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.



FIG. 405.—COTTAGE IN HYDE PARK.
(NASMYTH.) Tate Gallery.

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few. His best pictures, perhaps, are still in private hands, the *Death of the Otter*, for instance. But he is more than sufficiently well represented in the National Gallery and in the Victoria and Albert Museum.



FIG. 406.—TAMING OF A SHREW. (LESLIE.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.

The early years of the nineteenth century saw the activity of a considerable number of painters of more or less agreeable talent and of real sincerity in David Wilkie (1785–1841), Patrick Nasmyth (1786–1831), William Dyce (1806–1864), and John Phillip (1817–1867), all Scots; the Irishman, William Mulready (1786–1863), the Anglo-Americans, Charles Robert Leslie (1794–1859), and Gilbert Stuart Newton (1795–1835); and the Englishmen, Augustus Wall Callcott (1779–1844), William Etty (1787–1849), and George Lance (1802–1864).

Etty, in a sense, may be called the most unlucky of artists; for he was endowed by nature with two gifts: one for painting the nude



FIG. 407.—UNCLE TOBY AND
WIDOW WADMAN. (LESLIE.)
National Gallery.

human animal, the other for that larger domesticity which means love for one's own surroundings and place of origin; and the two had the worst effect on each other. If Etty could have transferred himself in youth to some centre where his own particular genius could have developed fully and been warmly welcomed, he might have become a leader in art. As it was, he had to pass his life in shadow, to see his work and himself misunderstood, and to be almost forgotten when he died. His pictures are most unequal, ranging from chalky, cold, and even meaningless combinations of gaudy color to renderings of human beauty, in which realism and style are united

with extraordinary felicity. Titian, Rubens, Rembrandt, had magnificent conventions for flesh; Etty, at his best, gives you the real,

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glowing, palpable thing itself. He is fairly well seen in our public collections: *Youth at the Prow and Pleasure at the Helm*, and *The Bather* (Fig. 402), in the National Gallery; *Cupid and Psyche*, at South Kensington; *The Storm*, in the Manchester Gallery, and a series of heroic subjects in the Edinburgh National Gallery, are among his better things. But the best examples I know in the ownership of any public body are a triple study of the nude, in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and a quasi-copy after a Titian *Venus* in the Royal Scottish Academy.

The men of talent were infinitely more successful in a worldly sense. Wilkie was a child of fortune all his life. His first mishap was the loss of health from which, eventually, he died. His best things show a rare faculty for building works of real, though modest, originality on the example of an alien school and different age. The best pictures by him accessible to the public are *The Blind Fiddler* and *The Village Fair*, in the National Gallery, the sketch for *Blind Man's Buff*, in the Tate Gallery, *Boys digging for Rats*, in the Diploma Gallery, Burlington House, and *The Refusal* (Fig. 403), at South Kensington; but the unfinished, indeed the scarcely commenced, *Knox dispensing the Sacrament at Calder House*, in the National Gallery of Scotland, has great charm, promising more, perhaps, than the finished picture would have performed. A *Bathsheba*, owned by Mrs. Naylor, of Leighton Hall, Welshpool, is perhaps the best of his efforts outside his own proper field. The *Reading of a Will*, at Munich, has been entirely destroyed by repainting. Patrick Nasmyth's landscapes, in a manner based on Hobbema, have always been popular with the lovers of minute finish. Several good examples are in the National Gallery. William Dyce



FIG. 408.—LES FEMMES SAVANTES.
(LESLIE.)

Victoria and Albert Museum.



FIG. 409.—FRUIT. (LANCE.)
National Gallery.



FIG. 410.—THE READER. (T. S. GOOD.)
Tate Gallery.

ably the *Spanish Wake* or "*La Gloria*," in the Edinburgh Gallery. Another excellent painter who, at times, treated Spanish life, was F. Y. Hurlstone (1880–1869), by whom there is a fine picture in the Tate Gallery. It is fat and rich in impasto, and the work of a true colorist.

William Mulready was born at Ennis, Co. Clare, in 1786, but came to London while still a boy and entered the Academy Schools in 1800. He became both A.R.A. and R.A. in the interval between the exhibitions of 1815 and 1816. He was a slow and most painstaking worker, so his pictures are scarce outside the Victoria and Albert Museum, which owns no less than thirty-three. The two best, perhaps, are *The Sonnet* (Fig. 404) and *Choosing the Wedding Gown*. His art is spoilt by his hot and gaudy color.



FIG. 411.—BYRON. (PHILLIPS.)
From Print.

has earned fame by his wall pictures in the King's Robing Room at Westminster, which are very good indeed in view of the conditions of his time. John Phillip was a native of Aberdeen. He received his art education in the R.A., and began his career by painting scenes of humble Scottish life. In 1846 he went to Spain, was at once captivated by Velazquez, and began that long series of illustrations of Spanish life, painted often with great vivacity and breadth, and in fine color, which earned him the *sobriquet* of "Phillip of Spain." His best picture is probably the *Spanish Wake* or "*La Gloria*," in the Edinburgh Gallery. More agreeable, on the whole, is the gentle, almost feminine art of C. R. Leslie, who might have been a very acceptable painter even now, if he had not embar-

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passed himself with a text. His subjects are nearly all taken from writers—Shakespeare, Molière, Cervantes, Sterne, Le Sage, &c.—whose visions are seldom on all fours with those of pictorial art. Leslie, like Mulready, is too well represented at South Kensington, where twenty-four of his pictures have found a home. Gilbert Stuart New-

ton was a rarer spirit, but his mind gave way at a comparatively early age, and his works are scarce. *Abelard* is in the Diploma Gallery at the Royal Academy; *Yorick and the Grisette* in the Tate Gallery; *Captain Macheath* in the possession of Lord Lansdowne.

To the same class as the two last belongs Augustus Leopold Egg, whose works, however, betray a kind of ability which is not effective in paint. Well drawn and intelligently arranged, they have no *enveloppe* and no pictorial motive. Pretty much the same verdict may be passed on William Collins, with whom landscape plays as large a part as incident. He was a better colorist than some, but was excelled in his turn by the still-life painter, George Lance, several of whose pictures are in our London galleries (Fig. 409).

Callcott, to whom the foolish name of "the English Claude" was sometimes given, was born in 1779, and, like Hoppner, under whom he afterward studied, began public life as a chorister. His landscapes, which are much better as a rule than his subject pictures, betray the study of Cuyp as well as Claude. He is not well represented in the national collections; his masterpiece, probably, is the *Mouth of the Tyne*, in the collection of Lord Ridley.

Paul Falconer Poole, a native of Bristol, had no regular education in art. But he early won a certain measure of success, and for many years was the chief



FIG. 412.—HASTINGS. (CHALON.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.



FIG. 413.—OWN PORTRAIT. (JACKSON.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.

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English painter of imaginative subjects, after Watts. He is represented both in the Tate Gallery and at South Kensington.



FIG. 414.—COLLEONE STATUE, VENICE.
(J. HOLLAND.) Mrs. Joseph.

Contemporary with these men were a number of portrait painters to whom it is scarcely necessary to allude. For some reason not easy to trace, the pictorial treatment of portraiture almost entirely disappeared between the death of Lawrence and the sudden turning of Millais to that form of art. Practically the only exception to the universal dullness was supplied by Watts, who contrived to unite largeness of style and a true pictorial imagination to the more objective requirements of portrait. Millais thought it necessary

to make excuses when he took to portraiture, so low had its reputation sunk. Even Watts, who contrived to give it so much dignity, did his best to avoid it during the first half of his life.

George Frederick Watts (1817-1904) was of Welsh extraction; and both in art and character showed many Celtic traits. His education was desultory. He worked for a short time in the Academy schools, and haunted the studio of William Behnes, the sculptor; but he used to say his real master was Phidias, and his real school the Parthenon marbles. He had a genius for friendship, and painted generation after generation of single families. In one case the succession ran to six generations! He sent in a picture, *The First Naval Victory of the English*, to the Westminster Hall competition of 1847. It won a prize of £500, was bought by the Government, and now hangs in a committee room of the House of Lords. A fresco painted in the same building has disappeared, but another, in the great hall at Lincoln's Inn, being painted on a more seasoned wall, has had better fortune, and may fairly be called the finest modern wall picture in this country. About the same time he began the great series of allegorical pictures by which, perhaps, he is likely to be best remembered; for they have the almost unique merit, among allegories, of being easily understood as well as fine in art. A few years later his other series, that of portraits of famous people, was commenced. These are very

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unequal, but among them are some of the finest heads painted by any modern master. *Lord Stratford de Redclyffe* (National Portrait Gallery), *Russell Gurney* (Fig. 418), *Walter Crane* (Fig. 451), and *William Morris* (National Portrait Gallery) may be named among the best. Some of his time was given to sculpture, in which he might have greatly excelled had he concentrated his powers on that form of art (see Chapter XX). Watts died in Little Holland House, Kensington, in 1904. The nation is rich in his pictures. During his lifetime he gave many to provincial galleries, the finest presented in that way, perhaps, being the *Fata Morgana*, at Leicester. One of his best pictures, *Time, Death, and Judgment*, hangs in St. Paul's Cathedral. To the National Portrait Gallery he gave a series of thirty-one portraits of celebrated people, and to the Tate Gallery twenty-three pictures. By the Cosmopolitan Club, a society established for many years in Charles Street, Mayfair, in what was at one time the painter's studio, the Tate Gallery has also been enriched by one of the most effective of his decorative pictures, a huge canvas, dealing with the Story of Nostagio degli Onesti, from the Decameron. A large collection of his works is open to the public in his house, Limnerslease, near Compton, in Surrey.

For Bibliography, see end of Chapter XVI.



FIG. 415.—CALISTO. (ROTHWELL.)
National Gallery, Dublin.



FIG. 416.—MISS ALEXANDER. (WHISTLER.)
Mr. Alexander.



FIG. 417.—HEARTS ARE TRUMPS. (SIR JOHN MILLAIS, BART.)
Mrs. J. H. Secker.

CHAPTER XVI

PAINTING—FROM THE PRE-RAPHAELITE REVOLT TO THE PRESENT DAY

WITH the culmination of Watts, the history of British art, before the outbreak of those movements which affected it so profoundly during the second half of last century, comes to an end. Watts lived on, indeed, until the twentieth century was three years old, but his art was curiously homogeneous, and in all its ups and downs was scarcely affected by the various kinds of modernism, whether in revivals or new experiments, which broke out around him.

In 1848 seven young men bound themselves together in a society to which they gave the name of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. They were Dante Gabriel Rossetti, William Holman Hunt, John Everett Millais, James Collinson, and Frederick George Stephens,

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FIG. 418.—RUSSELL GURNEY.
(WATTS.) National Gallery.

arose in the person of John Ruskin, whose eloquence did much gradually to win respect for the new principles. These were carried to an extreme at first, but were softened as time went on, and



FIG. 420.—HOPE.
(WATTS.) Tate Gallery.

painters; Thomas Woolner, sculptor; and William Michael Rossetti, writer. Their object was to break with the empty conventionality which had gradually dominated English art, substituting for it real, even if primitive, ideas, and the sincere study of nature down to her most intimate details. The movement was at first received with ridicule and violent abuse,

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FIG. 419.—ELIJAH AND WIDOW'S
SON. (MADOX BROWN.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.

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final
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of the
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ment

was
entirely
beneficial to English
painting.

Gabriel Rossetti, its ruling spirit, had, perhaps, been influenced more than can now be traced by his friend, Ford Madox Brown, in whose work a foreshadowing of the P.R.B. principles can be recognized. Brown (1821-1893) was educated, as an artist, at Bruges, Ghent, and

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FIG. 421.—MRS. MORRIS. (ROSSETTI.)



FIG. 422.—LILITH. (ROSSETTI.)

Antwerp, and did not establish himself in England until 1847. He took part in the Westminster Hall competitions (1845–1848), and was commissioned thirty years later to execute a series of twelve wall paintings in the Manchester Town Hall, which remains his chief work. He is represented by two important pictures at the Tate Gallery, *Christ washing St. Peter's Feet* and *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III.*; and by an extraordinary page of elaborate perversity, called *Work*, in the Manchester Gallery. Two of his better designs are *Elijah and the Widow's Son* (V. and A. Museum) and *Romeo and Juliet* (Leathart Collection). Madox Brown's gift was essentially Teutonic. He either did not feel, or set himself to spurn, certain artistic conditions which men of Latin and Celtic blood instinctively obey. He stuffed his narrative till he killed it, he forced his drama till he caricatured it, he too often confused passion with grimace; and his art remained the art of a young man all his life. He never was an actual member of the P.R.B., and some doubt remains as



FIG. 423.—REGINA CORDIUM. (ROSSETTI.)

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FIG. 424.—CHANT D'AMOUR. (SIR E. BURNE-JONES.)
Mr. James Ismay.

of *Mary Virgin*, with the help of Holman Hunt. He had been for a short time a student at the Royal Academy, and there can be no doubt that his art would have profited by a longer stay. He never passed out of "the antique" into "the life," and throughout his career he was handicapped by his consequent inability to do what he wished with his palette and brush. In spite of this he contrived to win a great reputation among his friends as a painter both in water color and in oil. His sub-



FIG. 426.—BURD ELLEN.
(WINDUS.)

to whether he was invited to become one or not. His influence, nevertheless, was far-reaching and profound.

Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882), the real founder and ruling spirit of the P.R.B., was in a sense Madox Brown's pupil, but he painted his first picture, *The Girlhood*



FIG. 425.—DEPTHS OF THE SEA.
(SIR E. BURNE-JONES.)
Mr. R. H. Benson.

jects were, as a rule, legendary, mystical, and poetical rather than strictly pictorial: and it is not unjust to say that his gifts as a painter are chiefly shown in his water colors. Together with Burne-Jones, William Morris, and others, he painted the walls of the old debating room in the Oxford Union, but the pictures are now

almost invisible. Among the best of his oil pictures are *The Blue Bower*, *The Beloved*, and the *Lady Lilith* of 1864. The *Dante's Dream*, now in the Liverpool Gallery, is an ambitious failure, considering that it was painted in the nineteenth century. Rossetti avoided publicity while he lived, and it was not until after his death that any considerable section of the public became acquainted with his art. Two of his pictures, *Beata Beatrix* and an early work, *Ecce Ancilla Domini* (*Behold the Handmaid of the Lord*), are in the National Collection at Millbank. Rossetti's personal influence over those with whom he came in contact was enormous, and to him chiefly must be imputed that plunge downward in the technique of painting which occurred in England more or less simultaneously with the successful attempt to raise its intellectual level. Among the numerous painters who may be called his followers, few show any real comprehension of the expressive value of their material.

Of all his followers by far the most important was Sir Edward Burne-Jones (1833-

1898), who was, like Watts, of Celtic extraction. He was educated for the Church, but at the age of twenty-two made the acquaintance



FIG. 427.—THE ANNUNCIATION.
(G. A. STOREY.)



FIG. 428.—MERCY AND TRUTH. (MRS. DE MORGAN.)

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of Rossetti, by whom he was induced to leave Exeter College, Oxford, and commence painter. He produced a large number of



FIG. 429.—SHADOW OF DEATH.
(HOLMAN HUNT.) Manchester Gallery.
By permission of Messrs. Agnew & Sons.

designs for stained glass, he collaborated with Rossetti and Morris in decorating the Oxford Union, he travelled with Ruskin in Italy and copied the Venetian Masters; he decorated rooms for Lord Carlisle, William Morris, and Birket Foster; he made cartoons for tapestry and for mosaic; and he painted many pictures. His art was unknown to the public until the opening of the Grosvenor Gallery in 1877, when he made a great sensation with *The Days of Creation*, *The Beguiling of Merlin* and *The Mirror of Venus*. These were followed a year later by *Laus Veneris* and the *Chant d'Amour*, perhaps his two best



FIG. 430.—LORENZO AND ISABELLA.
(MILLAIS.) Liverpool Gallery.

works. Other things in which his full power is seen are: *King Cophetua and the Beggar Maid* (National Collection), *Wheel of Fortune* (Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour), *The Golden Stairs* (Lady Battersea), *The Depths of the Sea* (R. H. Benson, Esq.), *The Brazen Tower* and *The Briar Rose*. He was

elected an A.R.A. in 1885; exhibited a pictorial hint to the Academy the following year; and resigned in 1893. He was created a baronet in 1894. Burne-Jones would deserve to be set on one of the highest pedestals in the temple of art were it not for certain peculiarities, which were his own, and faults of technique, which he probably owed to the influence of

Rossetti. His imagination was effeminate, and his self-criticism weak. As a draughtsman, he had little sense of structure and

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solidity; as a painter, he entirely failed to give his material the rich body which is its right. Splendid in color though his finer works certainly are, the poverty of their substance deprives them of a place beside the great Venetians by whom they were inspired. This defect, and the structural ignorance which spoils the beauty of his drawing, correspond so closely to similar defects in Rossetti that we are doing the latter no injustice in laying them at his door.

Other painters whose work sets them in the same group with Rossetti and Burne-Jones are James Collinson, member of the P.R.B., Charles Allston Collins, Arthur Hughes, Matthew James Lawless, and W. L. Windus, all of whom did good work which has never won appreciation. Coming down later still, in the same succession, we reach the names of J. M. Strudwick, Spencer Stanhope, Fairfax Murray, Evelyn Pickering (Mrs. de Morgan), T. M. Rooke, Marie Spartali (Mrs. Stillman), Archibald Macgregor, Byam Shaw, Reginald Frampton, Graham Robertson, Cayley Robinson, T. C. Gotch, etc.

Returning to the P.R.B., one member requires a paragraph to himself, so lonely has been the furrow he has ploughed for the last half-century. Mr. William Holman Hunt, O.M., born in 1826, was the oldest of the active pre-Raphaelites. He is one of those painters, more numerous, perhaps, in this country than elsewhere, who unite considerable æsthetic gifts with perverse theories as to their use: the result being a series of works before which it is quite impossible to feel that sense of active repose which the finest art inspires. A picture which excites controversy is not necessarily a good picture: and nearly all Mr. Hunt's pictures do this. His best works, perhaps—as works of *art*—are *Strayed Sheep*, *The*



FIG. 431.—YEOMAN OF THE GUARD. (MILLAIS.)
Tate Gallery.



FIG. 432.—*SOUVENIR OF VELAZQUEZ.*
(MILLAIS.) R. Academy.

Hireling Shepherd, the *Shadow of Death*, and the *Finding of Christ in the Temple*. But every picture with an interesting personality behind it is interesting: and the personality betrayed in Mr. Hunt's work is very interesting indeed, but, like the personality of Mantegna, it is not especially that of a painter. Among those who should be catalogued in his suite, although some among them would not confess, perhaps, to being his disciples, are W. S. Burton, R. B. Martineau, and Frederick Sandys.

The only other member of the Brotherhood who requires detailed notice is Millais. Sir John Everett Millais, Bart. (1829–

1896), was a Jerseyman. He came to London at the age of nine, was one of the most brilliant of Academy students at the age of seventeen, an A.R.A. at twenty-four, an R.A. at thirty-four, and P.R.A. a few months before his death. He began life as a painter by accepting the conventional methods in vogue before 1848, but on the foundation of the P.R.B. he adopted its principles in all their rigidity, sending pictures to the exhibition which raised a storm of abuse and ridicule. Among these were *Ferdinand and Ariel*, *The Carpenter's Shop*, the *Woodman's Daughter*, *Lorenzo and Isabella* (Liverpool Gallery), *The Return of the Dove to the Ark* (Oxford Gallery), *Mariana in the Moated Grange*, and *The Death of Ophelia* (Tate Gallery). The first picture to win the suffrages of the crowd as well as of the more open-minded



FIG. 433.—*PORTRAIT OF J. C. HOOK.*
(MILLAIS.)

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critics, was *The Huguenot* (Miller Collection), which was followed by *The Order of Release* (Tate), the *Proscribed Royalist*, *The Rescue*, the *Black Brunswicker*, the *Vale of Rest*, *Sir Isumbras at the Ford* (Mr. R. H. Benson), and, above all, *The Eve of St. Agnes* (Mrs. Prinsep), in which poetry of general conception was united to a literal and non-selective execution. Toward 1870 a change came over his ideas. He painted more richly and with a better sense of decoration, turning out such fine pages of color as *Stella*, *Vanessa*, a *Souvenir of Velazquez* (R. Academy), the *Gambler's Wife*, and *The Boyhood of Raleigh* (Tate). About the same time he began the regular painting of portraits, the earliest to attract any great attention being *Sisters* (three of his own daughters), *Miss Nina Lehmann*, *Hearts are Trumps* (Mrs. J. H. Secker and her sisters; three young girls at dummy whist), and *Mrs. Bischoffsheim*. Among his later portraits are *Mrs. F. H. Myers*, *The Earl of Shaftesbury*, K.G. (British and Foreign Bible Society), *Mrs. Jopling*, three *Gladstones* (National Gallery; Christ Church, Oxford; Earl of Rosebery, K.G.), *Mrs. Perugini*, *John Bright*, *Cardinal Newman*, *Lord Tennyson*, *Sir Gilbert Greenall*, *Lord Beaconsfield*, *J. C. Hook*, R.A., *Dorothy Thorpe*, *Lady Peggy Primrose*, and *Simon Fraser*.

If art be "nature seen through a temperament," Millais as a landscape painter was not an artist at all, for his pictures are so entirely objective that a photograph from, say, *Chill October*, is hardly to be distinguished from one after the place itself. And so with all his more ambitious landscapes. They are por-



FIG. 434.—LILIUM AURATUM.
(J. F. LEWIS.)



FIG. 435.—PICCADILLY. (E. J. GREGORY.)

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traits of sitters with whom he ventured to take no sort of liberty: they had become his friends too late in life. If he had held out



FIG. 436.—HER FIRST DANCE. (SIR W. Q. ORCHARDSON.)
By permission of Messrs. Dowdeswell.

his hand twenty years sooner, he might have had time to work through his over-respectful approaches, and to give us landscapes worthy to hang beside the *Eve of St. Agnes*, or the portraits of *Gladstone*, *Tennyson*, and *Hook*.

The place of Millais in our history is difficult to fix. At present he is being judged mainly by his faults, and his fame

stands lower than it did while he was alive. But the time will come to him, as to others, when his weak productions will be forgotten, and he will be remembered only as the painter of such things as those enumerated above. The danger to his reputation may then lie in a certain lack of individuality, in a variety which appears to spring rather from vacillation than from breadth of sympathy. The man who could paint both *Christ in the house of his Parents* and *Bubbles* may seem too vague in outline for worship, and the power evident in his best things may be insufficient to keep him in the front rank. Everything, however, is forgiven to a colorist, and in color



FIG. 437.—MASTER BABY. (ORCHARDSON.)

most of his pictures are fine, while the years will soften crudeness in the rest.

To find pre-Raphaelite principles carried to their logical conclusion we have to turn to two painters who had nothing to do with the brotherhood, or with each other. These two were J. F. Lewis, R.A. (1805-1876), and John Brett (1832-1902).

Lewis was called by Ruskin one of the leaders of pre-Raphaelism, while of a picture by Brett the same critic declared it was "after John Lewis, simply the most

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perfect piece of painting, with respect to touch, in the Academy this year; in some points of precision it goes beyond anything the pre-Raphaelites have done yet." Both Lewis and Brett are well represented in the Tate Gallery. To me their art seems without serious interest.

Without going so far as those who would derive every touch of poetry and of love for beauty in modern English painting from the pre-Raphaelites, it must yet be confessed that their influence was great and is by no means exhausted even now. How far this was due to their own example and how far to that of the real pre-Raphaelites, the Italians of the fifteenth century, it would take a volume to determine. It may be said that the

study of these latter men's works was a result of the movement of 1848. At that rate, the general revival of interest in primitive art, and the total neglect of the Italians of the seventeenth century, may be credited to Madox Brown, who thus becomes a very important person indeed. For there can be no doubt whatever that his example was the torch set to the pre-Raphaelite bale-fire.

The following list includes most of the better painters, not yet mentioned, who have shown obvious sympathy with pre-Raphaelite ideas: G. P. Boyce, Walter Crane, W. H. Deverell, Arthur Hughes, Frederick Shields, Simeon Solomon, J. E. Southall, Henry Wallis, Matthew J. Lawless, Gerald Moira, and E. J. Gregory.

The pre-Raphaelite revolt is the last great movement which



FIG. 438.—EARL SPENCER.
(FRANK HOLL.)



FIG. 439.—S. COUSINS. (FRANK HOLL.)

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really belongs to the history of British Art. Those developments which have taken place since are more cosmopolitan than British. They have been moves toward assimilating our insular ideas to those of the Continent, which, in painting, mean the ideas of France and Holland. Being all moves in one direction, they have had considerable similarity, one with another, and it is scarcely worth while to dwell much on the differences which separate the neo-Scots school from that of Newlyn, or both from those franker disciples of

Paris who have been so greatly encouraged by the genius of the two Americans, Whistler and Sargent (Figs. 416, 449, 450).

The Scottish School which became so conspicuous in the sixties, was mainly the creation of Robert Scott Lauder, whose teaching had a great effect on the painters who were beginning their careers just after the completion of the first half of the nineteenth century. The two ablest members of the school were John Pettie, who died comparatively young, and Sir William Quiller Orchardson, who has gradually conquered a place in the front rank of European painters, and that in spite of the extreme individuality of his style. His best pictures are divided between portraiture and the higher form of illustration. In the



FIG. 440.—SPRING. (J. LAVERY.)
Musée du Luxembourg, Paris.

former class, *Sir Walter Gilbey, Bart.*, is perhaps his finest work; in the latter, *Voltaire* (Hamburg Kunsthalle), *Napoleon on the Bellerophon* (Tate Gallery), and *A Tender Chord* (Humphrey Roberts Collection), show him at his best.

The younger Scottish school originated in Glasgow, whither, during the last thirty years, a very large number of fine pictures by the French romanticists have found their way. How far the existence of these pictures, and others of good quality in the local collections, may have been the cause, and how far the result, of the local interest in art it is difficult to say. Certain it is that for many years past an ever-increasing number of young Glaswegians have attracted

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general attention by their pictures. The first Glasgow painter to develop a new and personal feeling toward nature was John Milne Donald (1819-1866). He was the true artistic progenitor of Colin Hunter, whose best works, such as the *Herring Market at Sea* (Manchester Gallery) and *Lobster Fishers*,



FIG. 441.—WHARFDEALE. (CECIL LAWSON.)



FIG. 442.—AN EARLY VICTORIAN. (W. LOGSDAIL.)

s h o w both fidelity to nature and a brilliant gift of artistic selection. By far the strongest impression was made, however, on the Glasgow School, by the example of Whistler and by the work of a native impressionist of great ability, Mr. William McTaggart. The more distinguished of the younger men are Sir James Guthrie, now P.R.S.A., John Lavery (Fig. 440), George Henry, Edward Hornell, Alexander Roche, James Paterson, E. A. Walton, T. Austen Brown, Joseph Crawhall, Harrington Mann, D. Y. Cameron.

The Newlyn school was not a local development, like that of Glasgow, but merely consisted of a number of young artists who held similar ideas, and thought it wise and pleasant to withdraw into the soft quietude of the Cornish coast for their development. The leader of the exodus, if such a word may be used, was Stanhope Forbes, whose wife, Elizabeth Forbes, is one of the few women who can both conceive an organic work of art and carry it out. The main characteristics of the group, as a whole, are fidelity to scenes of familiar



FIG. 443.—MUSIC LESSON. (LORD LEIGHTON.)

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life for subjects, and their execution in a broad manner of brushing, with scrupulous regard to the behavior of light. Besides the



FIG. 444.—MAUNDY THURSDAY. (SIR J. D. LINTON.)

Stanhope Forbes, the group includes Frank Bramley, Norman Garstin, John da Costa and several others.

Apart from these more or less organized movements, English painting has had its groups and tendencies like other schools. To us, with our present

inclinations, the most interesting group appears to be formed by the men who are nearest to nature, who obey, in fact, the principles of Constable and Courbet, even although some among them would rather criticise than praise those two artists' works. Most of these men are landscape painters, and, as nature has many moods, they show enough variety to make it appear a little venturesome to put them all in one group. James Clark Hook (1819–1907) was a Londoner born well within sound of Bow Bells. In his youth he received the advice of Constable and won the Academy gold medal. For years he painted costume pictures, but about 1854, when he was already thirty-five years of age, he discovered his true line and began that

series of sea and coast subjects which made him famous. His works are so curiously equal in style, merit, and "importance" that selection is difficult. *Luff Boy* (1859) and four pictures in the Tate Gallery represent him well.



FIG. 445.—SUMMER MOON. (LEIGHTON.)

Still more realistic than Hook are Henry Moore (1831–1895) and Napier Hemy. Moore, especially, built up a style of rendering the sea which has never been ap-

proached for veracity in texture, color, and movement. His blue seas, with the sun behind the spectator, almost produce illusion. Among

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his better things are *The Newhaven Packet*, *Clear Shining after Rain* (which won the Grand Prix in the Paris Exhibition of 1889), a *Perfect Day for a Cruise*, and *A June Sea*. Mr. Napier Hemy has more variety, but less freshness. Two pictures in the Tate Gallery—*Pilchards* and *The London River*—represent him well. Edwin Hayes, Irish by birth, worked in much the same style; Mr. W. L. Wyllie paints life on the water with a keen sense of its scenic qualities—evidence, *Toil*, *Glitter*, *Grime*, and *Wealth on a Flowing Tide* and *The Battle of the Nile*, both in the Tate Gallery. Mr. Thomas Somerscales sees things with more breadth and simplicity, but suggests the light and movement of the south with the happiest truth in *Off Valparaiso* (Tate Gallery).

Of the landscape painters, in the literal sense, belonging to this group of independent naturalists, the most distinguished is Cecil Gordon Lawson (1851–1882), who was, in all probability, only prevented by his weak health from taking a higher place than any other English landscape painter since the death of Turner. His best work combines a poetic imagination with frank observation and grandeur of style in a very high degree. His life was too short for a great harvest. Among his best pictures are *The Minister's Garden* (Manchester Gallery), *The August Moon* (Tate Gallery), *The Hop Gardens of England*, *The Cloud*, and *Barden Moor*. The influences we feel in Cecil Lawson's art are those of Watts and Ruysdael, with



FIG. 446.—THE OPEN BOOK.
(ALBERT MOORE.)



FIG. 447.—HOME FROM THE RIDE. (CHARLES FURSE.)
Tate Gallery.



FIG. 448.—DIANA OF THE UPLANDS.
(CH. FURSE.) Tate Gallery.

the last quarter of a century. It has cut off our most promising landscape painter at thirty-one, our most promising painter, without any qualification, at thirty-six, and one of our cleverest young men at thirty-three. The allusions, of course, are to Cecil Lawson, C. W. Furse, and Robert Brough. Furse (1868–1904) was born at Staines, his father, Canon Furse, being a relation of Sir Joshua Reynolds. He



FIG. 449.—PAINTER'S MOTHER. (WHISTLER.)
Musée du Luxembourg, Paris.

whom, too, Mr. Alfred East has much in common, in spite of the more decorative balance of his conceptions. The influence of Corot is also evident in his work. More directly traceable to Constable is the art of Mr. Mark Fisher, whose best pictures are at once brilliant pages from nature and thoroughly well organized creations. *Boys Bathing* (Dublin City Gallery) and *On the River Stour* are fine examples. Mr. J. R. Reid paints in a style which recalls various other painters, but is still thoroughly individual.

Death has been cruel to the British school of painting during the last quarter of a century. He received his education in art at the London Slade School and at Julian's, Paris. He was a slow beginner, for although his early works attracted much notice, they scarcely promised the great performance in which his art culminated. For many years Furse suffered from lung trouble, which finally killed him. Among his best works are: *The Return from the Ride*, *Diana of the Uplands*, and *Equestrian Portrait of Lord Roberts, K.G.*, all in

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the Tate Gallery; *The Lilac Gown* (portrait of Miss Mabel Terry Lewis) and *Cubbing with the York and Ainsty* (a family portrait).

The talent of Robert Brough (1872–1905) was of a different kind. It lay too much, perhaps, in mental and manual dexterity, and in a faculty for seizing upon telling points. It was showing signs, however, of leaving this behind and acquiring breadth and dignity when a railway accident put an end to his career. His *Saint Anne of Brittany* and *Twixt Sun and Moon* are in the Modern Gallery at Venice; his *Fantaisie en Folie* in the Tate Gallery.

The mention of Venice suggests the names of two painters who should not be passed over in silence: Mr. Henry Woods and Mr. William Logsdail. They have both painted the Lagoon City with great ability, and the former has practically devoted his whole career to illustrating Venetian life, and, incidentally, to the painting of daylight. In this he has occasionally found a companion in his brother-in-law, Mr. Luke Fildes, who will be remembered, however, chiefly by his scenes from modern English life, such as *The Village Wedding*.

One of the quaint perversities to which artists are prone is the belief that good archaeology makes good art. England is seldom without a group of painters working in what they hope are classical traditions, and producing what they believe to be plausible restorations of the life of Greece and Rome. Lord Leighton was the head and leader of the more decorative section, just as Sir Laurence Alma Tadema is of the more historically minded. Other members of the group are, or were, Sir Edward Poynter, Val Prinsep, C. E. Perugini, and Albert Moore.

With Albert Moore, however, classicism was merely a vehicle; a vehicle driven with great ability, for our critical fancy could almost agree that thus and not otherwise the Greeks must have painted: but still a vehicle, for he had a true pictorial reason for his art in his



FIG. 450.—DUCHESS OF PORTLAND. (J. S. SARGENT.)

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rhythm of line and the decorative beauty of his color. Among his best pictures are *The Quartet*, *Midsummer*, *A Summer Night*, *Silver*, and *The Open Book* (Fig. 446).

A group of English painters of which a good deal used to be heard was the St. John's Wood School, in which the bond of union was a common devotion to "costume" subjects. Among the chief members were P. H. Calderon, H. S. Marks, John Pettie, W. F. Yeames, and several other painters who carry on the tradition with as much success, perhaps, as it deserves. Among the ablest of these are Mr. J. Seymour Lucas, who contrives to prove himself an artist in spite of his archæology, and Mr. A. C. Gow, whose drawings of soldiers and other picturesquely clothed individuals are as complete and precise as those of Meissonier. A very large number of other painters would have to be noticed in any exhaustive work on English art. In a hand-book such as this it is enough to mention a few of the more conspicuous among those who have worked with acceptance without being part and parcel of any particular movement or group.

Frank Holl (1845-1888) had two careers. He began as a powerful but sombre painter in the *genre* of Israels, delighting in the blackest woe, whether for the sake of the black or the woe has never been determined (*No Tidings from the Sea*, *The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away*, *Hushed*, &c.). In 1878 he sent to the R.A. a portrait of Cousins, the engraver, which was so much admired that for the rest of his life Holl's studio was crowded with sitters. Among his best portraits are the *Duke of Cleveland*, *Earl Spencer*, *Lord Overstone*, *Sir Henry Rawlinson*, *Lord Wolseley*, and *John Bright*. He sometimes failed to catch a likeness, but his work is always full of strength and decision, and may be compared to that of the distinguished Frenchman, M. Léon Bonnat.

Mr. John Macallan Swan (B. 1847) is of Scottish extraction. His art education was obtained at Worcester, in London, and in Paris. He is chiefly famous for his animals, which he paints and models with unrivalled knowledge of movement and structure. But his pictures and sculptures in which the human figure is treated are no less admirable. His drawings, too, are among the best of modern times. He is represented in the Tate Gallery by a good picture, *The Prodigal Son*.

Mr. Briton Riviere (B. 1840) paints animals from a different standpoint. A less profound glance into their anatomy is sufficient for him, for he is concerned more with their picturesque exteriors and with their dramatic capabilities than with their structure.

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One of his better works is the *Herd of Swine* running "violently down a steep place into the sea," in the Tate Gallery.

Sir Hubert von Herkomer's most conspicuous quality, or defect, is his versatility. He is painter, engraver, enameller, modeller, musician, actor, architect, &c., and has consequently never carried any one of his pursuits to the perfection it might otherwise have reached. Versatility alone does not make a Leonardo. Among his better pictures are two portraits of ladies, one in white and one in black; *The Last Muster*; the *Town Council of Landsberg, Bavaria*, and the *Council of the Royal Academy*, 1908.

Mr. J. W. Waterhouse ought, perhaps, to be classed with the archaeologists, but he contrives to be so essentially modern in his archaeology that we prefer to look upon him simply as a decorative painter. His best works—*St. Cecilia*, *Hylas and the Nymphs*—would make excellent tapestry. His earlier and more dramatic pictures

—*Mariamne*, *St. Eulalia*, *The Magic Circle*—are less attractive. I must be content to name Mr. Bacon, Mr. Campbell Tayler, Mr. Charles Sims, Mr. Cadogan Cowper, Mr. Greiffenhagen, Mr. Mouat Loudan, Mr. E. J. Gregory, the late James Charles (1851–1896), and Mr. La Thangue, as all producing work with a character and individuality of its own. Mr. Sims, especially, has attracted notice during the last few years by works in which extraordinary technical dexterity is at the service of a strange and moving imagination. At first, he was content with suggesting more thoroughly than any other English painter the quality and behavior of unmitigated sunlight, as we see it in places like Brighton beach. For the last two years he has been much more ambitious, and has sent to the Academy a series of painted poems which excite the greatest curiosity and hopes for his future. They are painted poems of the right kind, not in the least degree literary, but depending entirely on pictorial qualities for their power to move our sympathies. One of these, *The Fountain*, has already found its way into the national collections.



FIG. 451.—WALTER CRANE.
(G. F. WATTS.)

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Among the latest movements in English art is the foundation of the Society dubbed with some clumsiness and want of resource The New English Art Club. It was founded some twenty years ago by a number of young artists whose bond of union was a Paris training, the leading spirits at the time being W. J. Laidlay, T. C. Gotch, T. Stirling Lee, Frederic Brown, S. J. Solomon, T. B. Kennington, J. Havard Thomas, P. W. Steer, and one or two more, nearly all of whom have since won a certain measure of distinction. At the present moment the club includes several men of great ability, the most promising for the future being, perhaps, Mr. William Orpen, whose early work—he is still very young—recalls that of some of the greatest names in art. Another member, Mr. Augustus John, has given proof of executive ability of the first class.

It will be noticed that nothing has been said about the Impressionists as a separate school. Their principle, that a picture should make the same kind of impression on the eye as that made by nature, *plus* selection for the sake of beauty, has affected the whole of art in its modernest development. It is really a more intelligent form of the principle for which the P.R.B.'s contended, substituting things as seen for things as they exist. Its inventor and preacher was James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), an Anglo-Celt by race, an American by nationality, a Frenchman by early training. His example has so widely affected the theories and practice of art in our own time that any attempt to shepherd his followers into a group would be misleading.

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(UNKNOWN FOLLOWER OF HOLBEIN.)
FIG. 452.—CHILD.
(Mr. G. Salting's Collection.)



FIG. 453.—CHILD.

CHAPTER XVII

PORTRAIT-MINIATURES

DURING the century which elapsed between the disappearance of English supremacy in the art of decorating manuscripts and the arrival of Holbein at the Court of Henry VIII., the traditions of the miniaturists had faded away, until they retained only just enough vitality to afford a hint to the Augsburg master. He was not slow in showing the native limners what their art could do, and from his example dates a fashion and a succession which persisted until the invention of photography. The first of his followers (he was no pupil) to reach any respectable proficiency was Nicholas Hilliard, who has left on record the often-quoted saying: "Holbein's manner of limning I have ever imitated, and hold it for the best." Not that Hilliard's miniatures are very like Holbein's. There is no danger of confusing them, as those of other painters practising at the same time in England have been confused, with the German



FIG. 454.—ANNE OF CLEVES. (HOLBEIN.)
Mr. G. Salting's Collection.

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FIG. 455.—N. HILLIARD, PÈRE.
(HILLIARD, FILS.) Salting Collection.

son. Although of English birth, they were probably of French extraction. The date of Isaac's birth is unknown, but he died in Blackfriars, where Van Dyck was afterward to establish himself, in 1617. Isaac Oliver's style began by very distinctly showing its affiliation with that of his master, Hilliard, but grew simpler and more broadly effective as it developed. Peter, whose earlier miniatures strongly resemble the later ones of his father, showed himself in



FIG. 457.—LADY. (J. HOSKINS.) Mrs. Joseph.

master's work. Hilliard had a finer sense of elegance than Holbein. His sitters have a grace of carriage and a suavity of contour which Holbein lacks. But they exist with far less vigor, their drawing is less unerring, and their color far inferior to Holbein's in that combination of frankness and harmony which was the most surprising quality in the German.

Hilliard was succeeded by two men of greater powers than his own: Isaac Oliver, or Olivier, and Peter, his



FIG. 456.—HILLIARD, NICHOLAS. (BY SELF.) Salting Collection.

time to be a faithful admirer of Van Dyck. It is known that he also painted in large, in oil, and it is more than probable that he was the true author of certain portraits now ascribed to Van Dyck, which do not exactly agree with the master's style or with that of any of his known scholars. Peter Oliver died in 1647. Fine examples of the two Olivers are owned by his Majesty, by Lords Derby and Exeter, by Mr. Burdett Coutts and Mr. Wingfield Digby, by the Duke of Buccleuch, and many other collectors. The Victoria and Albert

PORTRAIT-MINIATURES



FIG. 458.—LADY HUNSDON. (I. OLIVER.)
 Mrs. Joseph's Collection.



FIG. 459.—ARABELLA STUART. (N. HILLIARD.)
 Mrs. Joseph's Collection.

Museum possesses, in the Jones collection, Isaac Oliver's wonderful full-length miniature of Sackville, Earl of Dorset, here reproduced (see Frontispiece). Besides the two Olivers, several other miniaturists worked in England in the Holbein tradition. The two cleverest, and latest, were Penelope Cleyne, the daughter of a designer at the Mortlake Tapestry factory, and John Hoskins (d. 1664?). Hoskins was only surpassed as a miniaturist by his own nephews and pupils, Alexander and Samuel Cooper, the latter of whom was not only the best miniature painter, but one of the most gifted artists that England can boast.

Samuel Cooper (1609–1672) was the pupil of his uncle Hoskins, and also studied for a time in France and Holland. He appears to have been the true originator of the style we now associate exclusively with Van Dyck, for miniatures by him, executed before Van Dyck came to England, anticipate the air of conscious distinction which the Fleming afterward saw in the English upper classes. Among the finest of Cooper's works are the miniatures of Cromwell, at Chatsworth; of Monk, at Windsor; and several in the magnificent collection of the Duke of Buccleuch. "No portrait by Van Dyck . . . brings us into such intimate relation with a personality as do Samuel Cooper's miniatures . . . and how profoundly artistic they are! Each occupies its narrow surface to perfection, each is a masterpiece of design, of drawing, of modelling, even of color; and each stops exactly where it should. There is no effort to tell more than the conditions



FIG. 460.—SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.
(I. OLIVER.) Windsor Castle.

to his Majesty, the Dukes of Sutherland, Devonshire, and Portland, Earl Spencer, Mrs. Joseph, and others.

After the death of Cooper, English painting of portrait miniatures soon came to the

will allow, no attempt to rival work on a larger scale. Solicitude is concentrated on the heads, and there every touch helps to add intensity to the artist's record of the man before him. A fine Cooper is a triumph of selection, of precision in the right place, of suggestion in the right place, of balance and harmony all over." Cooper's miniatures are still numerous, although a large number have perished in one way or another. Good collections also belong



FIG. 461.—PORTRAIT OF MAN
UNKNOWN. (I. OLIVER.)
V. & A. Museum.



FIG. 462.—DOUBLE LOCKET. (HILLIARD.)
Mr. G. Salting.

end of its first period of glory. Cooper was followed by three men of great ability, Thomas Flatman, Laurence Crosse, and Nathaniel Dixon, after whom the art fell for a time into the hands of ungifted immigrants, who captured patronage by means which have too often proved successful since their day.

The second fine

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FIG. 463.—JAMES I.
(I. OLIVER.)



FIG. 464.—ANNE OF DENMARK.
(I. OLIVER.)



FIG. 465.—HENRY, PRINCE OF
WALES. (I. OLIVER.)



FIG. 466.—PRINCE CHARLES.
(I. OLIVER.)



FIG. 467.—HENRY, PRINCE OF
WALES. (I. OLIVER.)



FIG. 468.—LADY. (I. OLIVER.)

Mr. G. Salting's Collection.

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FIG. 460.—PORTRAIT OF RICHARD CROMWELL. (S. COOPER.)



FIG. 470.—PORTRAIT OF LADY UNKNOWN. (FLATMAN.)

Mrs. Joseph's Collection.

period began about the time of the founding of the Royal Academy, in 1769. John Smart, who exhibited in London from 1762 to 1813, was the best equipped of this later generation. His miniatures have never been equalled for completeness, precision, and technical perfection. In modelling they equal those of Holbein, and it is only in harmony of color that they occasionally fail to please. Smart was a friend of Cosway, whose art, however, was strangely unlike his own. Where Smart was complete, precise,



FIG. 471.—PORTRAIT (FLATMAN.)
Mr. Salting.

almost Teutonic in his love for detail and finish, Cosway was broad in conception and execution, and dependent on his sense of beauty for effect. It is curious that both were miniatures of men: some five feet high!



FIG. 472.—PORTRAIT OF MAN UNKNOWN. (FLATMAN.)
Mr. Salting.

Slightly junior to these two artists, and inferior to them in genius, were the two Plimers, Andrew (1763-1837) and Nathaniel

(1757-1822), Ozias Humphrey (1742-1810), James Nixon (1741-1812), George Engleheart (1752-1829), Samuel Shelley (1750?-1808), Richard Crosse (1740?-1810), and Horace Hone (1756-1825); while on a lower plane still were Nathaniel Hone (1718-1784), Henry Edridge (1769-1821), Samuel Cotes (1734-1818), William Wood (1768-1809), Thomas Hazlehurst (1760-1818), Luke Sullivan (Died 1771), Richard Collins (1755-1831), William Grimaldi (1751-1830), Samuel Finney (1721-1807), John Bogle (1769-1792), Andrew Robertson (1777-1845), and many others.

The nineteenth century brought with it a decisive fall in the general character of portrait miniatures. They became ambitious in the wrong direction, with a tendency to increased size, elaboration, and self-assertion, and a consequent loss in the unity which had been their artistic charm. Andrew Robertson (1777-1845) was a man of ability, but his miniatures do not look content. They seem to breathe a desire to grow into life-size pictures. And it was the same with the other miniaturists who filled in the time between him and the advent of photography: with Mrs. Mee (1770?-1851), Newton (1785-1869), Ross (1794-1876), Chalon (1781-1860), and Thorburn (1818-1885).

The splendor of the British school of portrait miniatures is a rather curious phenomenon. For it depends on qualities which have not distinguished British art as a whole. It depends on a sense of form, on power of concentration, on ability to summarize fact without falling into emptiness, virtues which have, more often than not, been somewhat to seek among our artists. None of



FIG. 473.—PORTRAIT OF GENTLEMAN.
(BOGLE.)



FIG. 474.—PORTRAIT OF A LADY.
(J. SMART.) Mrs. Joseph.

ART IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

the Continental miniaturists have equalled Samuel Cooper, Flatman, Hoskins, Laurence Crosse, John Smart, or Cosway, or even some members of the second flight, in the gift for putting no more on a square inch or two of card or ivory than it was fit to bear, and



FIG. 475.—PORTRAIT OF A MAN.
(COSWAY.) Mrs. Joseph.



FIG. 476.—PORTRAIT OF DUKE OF
WELLINGTON. (COSWAY.) Mrs. Joseph.



FIG. 477.—PORTRAIT OF LADY ANNE
FANE. (COSWAY.) Mrs. Joseph.



FIG. 478.—PORTRAIT OF A LADY.
(ANDREW ROBERTSON.)

yet suggesting at the same time that their equipment was complete and could have played on a six-foot canvas with equal success.

A certain number of English miniaturists worked in enamel. It is quite certain that the art of enamelling was practised here

PORTRAIT-MINIATURES

throughout the Gothic ages, for documentary evidence exists that the art was frequently the subject of regulations by the Sovereign. The probability is that many objects at present ascribed to Continental schools were produced in England, if not always by Englishmen. A country in which the making of stained-glass windows was carried to the perfection it reached here could scarcely have failed to work successfully in enamel. The fashion of enamel miniatures—if it can be said ever



FIG. 479.—PORTRAIT OF A LADY. (S. PLIMER.)

to have been a fashion—was set in England by Jean Petitot the elder (1607-1691) and his friend, Pierre Bordier (F. 1650), both natives of Geneva. After a period of study in Italy, the two friends came to England, where they were patronized by their countryman, Sir Théodore de Mayerne, physician to Charles I. Mayerne, who presented them to the King, had long been studying enamels, so that his knowledge, added to the technical ex-



FIG. 480.—PORTRAIT OF A MAN. (BOGLE.)

perience of the two artists, led to great results. Petitot had lodgings in Whitehall. He "portraictured" the King and other members of the Royal Family, he copied several of Van Dyck's pictures in enamel, and was an established institution when the triumph of the Parliament and death of the King drove him to seek new fields. He emigrated, and sought the patronage in exile of Charles II., who brought him to the notice of Louis XIV. For the French King he produced a large number of enamels, in which he was

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FIG. 481.—WARREN HASTINGS. (O. HUMPHREYS.)

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assisted by the faithful Bordier, and by his own son, Jean Petitot the younger (after 1650?–1695). The elder Petitot died at Geneva



FIG. 482.—ENAMEL.
(GERVASE SPENCER.)

in 1691, at the age of 84. His son settled in England. He studied for a time under Samuel Cooper, and was still living in London in 1695. Enamels by Bordier are comparatively rare, the most important being the *Fairfax Jewel*, presented by the Parliament to Sir Thomas Fairfax after the battle of Naseby. It now belongs to Lord Hastings. Enamels by the Petitots are numerous. Their merit lies almost entirely in the excellence of their technique, which leads to great brilliance and vivacity. Fine collections exist in the Victoria and Albert

Museum, the Wallace collection, the Louvre, and in many private cabinets.

The first successor of the Petitots in this country was Charles Boit, a Franco-Swede, who came to England as a drawing master, but when here took up enamel painting. His career was stormy and his works are rare. The best are in the possession of Mr. Jeffrey Whitehead, Lord Spencer, Captain Holford, and in Viennese collections. After Boit came his



FIG. 483.—ENAMEL PORTRAIT OF H. BONE.
(BY HIMSELF.)

pupil, Christian Friedrich Zincke, a Saxon and a prolific artist, who produced a large number of portraits. The best of these are excellent, uniting brilliance to breadth of effect with conspicuous success. Good examples are to be found in all the chief collections of miniatures. Zincke lived in England for sixty years, dying here in 1767. Other foreigners by birth who worked enamel in England, in the eighteenth century, were: George Michael Moser (1704?–1783) and Jeremiah Meyer (1735–1789), both foundation members of the Royal Academy, Rouquet (1702?–1759),

Groth (1650), Christian Richter (1680?–1732), and the brothers Hurter (1730–1790).

The native English enamellers were a small band. Gervase

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Spencer (d. 1763), who began life as a domestic servant, produced some good miniatures in enamel as well as in water color. Nathaniel Hone (1718–1784) was excelled in enamel as well as in ordinary miniature-painting by his son Horace (1756–1825), whose best work is full of charm and power. Henry Spicer, William Prewitt, and several other native workers are known chiefly or solely by their signatures on a few pieces. A more important name is that of Henry Bone (1755–1834), who would have been one of the finest of all workers in enamel had his eye for color been better. A native of Cornwall, he began life as a decorator of porcelain, at Plymouth. After devoting himself to enamel, he produced copies of many famous pictures and of a whole series of Elizabethan portraits. He was elected R.A. in 1811, and died in 1834. His sons, Henry Pierce (1779–1855) and Robert Treweek Bone (1790–1840), practised their father's art with less success. With the death of H. P. Bone in 1855 the succession of workers seduced into enamel in England by the fame and fashion of Petitot came to an end. Within the last few years the art has been taken up anew, and practised with success by Sir Hubert von Herkomer, Mr. and Mrs. Nelson Dawson, and several others. So far, however, no one has again attempted to make it a medium for portraiture. It is adapted neither to modern fashions nor to modern hurry.



FIG. 484.—PORTRAIT. (NOAH SEAMAN.)

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FIG. 485.—SKETCH FOR A LANDSCAPE. (GAINSBOROUGH.)
J. P. Heseltine, Esq.

CHAPTER XVIII

WATER-COLOR PAINTINGS—DRAWINGS

ONE of the three artistic activities in which England can show a clean pair of heels to all her rivals is painting in water color.¹ This art, of course, was no new discovery on the part of our eighteenth century painters. It had been practised in the same form, *i. e.*, in transparent color, by the Dutch landscape painters of the previous century. But they had only turned to it occasionally, and had never cared to develop its special capacities. The particular individual to whom the modern school should look as its originator was Paul Sandby (1725–1809), a native of Nottingham, who followed successively the occupations of military map-maker, topographical draughtsman, picturesque draughtsman and drawing-master. He was also an etcher and aquatinter. Much of his work was done in body color, but he also practised the more luminous method. His last employment was that of chief drawing-master at the

¹ The other two being mezzotint engraving and the painting of portrait miniatures.

WATER-COLOR PAINTINGS—DRAWINGS

Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. Excellent examples of his work are in the British Museum, the Edinburgh, Dublin and Kensington collections. Contemporary with Sandby were various half-forgotten artists who occasionally, at least, painted in water color: Charles Brooking (1723-1759), already mentioned for his sea pieces in oil; Dominic Serres (1722-1793),



FIG. 486.—ON THE WHARFE. (GIRTIN.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.



FIG. 487.—DUTCH SHIPPING. (THOMAS HEARNE.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.

was appointed drawing-master to of Wales. He married a sister of Robert Edge Pine, and begot a son by whom he was to be excelled in his own line. Alexander Cozens is to be studied in the Victoria and Albert and British Museums. His drawings are imaginative in a ghostly way, and prepare one for the stronger though very similar productions of his more gifted son, John Robert Cozens.

The younger Cozens (1752-

the two Gilpins, the Rev. W. (1723-1804) and Sawrey, R.A. (1733-1807); George Barret and Gainsborough, whom we need not discuss further here, and Alexander Cozens (died in 1786). The last-named was the natural son of Peter the Great by an English mother, who accompanied the Czar back to Russia. Peter sent him to study painting in Italy, whence he came to England in 1746. He soon became the fashion, Eton College, and to the Prince



FIG. 488.—THE THOLSEL, DUBLIN. (MALTON.)
National Gallery, Dublin.

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1799), to whom Constable applied the often quoted phrase, "he was the greatest genius who ever touched landscape," painted the poetry of landscape in a method which was almost monochromatic. He was the first to suggest the grandeur and unapproachableness of the Alps, and so, in some measure, was the forerunner of Turner, who has, indeed, left us several Turneresque versions of actual drawings by Cozens. Unfortunately, Cozens had a strain of madness in him, which developed into insanity before the end of his life. Good collections of his drawings exist in the British Museum and at South Kensington.



FIG. 489.—VERONA.
(BONINGTON.)

Victoria and Albert Museum.

A long stride in advance was made when a certain young man, more than twenty years the junior of J. R. Cozens, appeared on the scene. Thomas Girtin (1773–1802) was the first of our water-color painters in the modern sense. He used color frankly, for its own sake, giving all the depth and power of which the medium was capable. He was also a consummate artist, seeing his subject with fine breadth as well as an eye to characteristic detail. Good examples of his work are in the British Museum and at South Kensington. His drawings are always so far topographical that they represent real places. Some of the best



FIG. 490.—OXFORD. (DE WINT.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.

deal with Paris, Durham, and scenes in Wales and Scotland. A magnificent *Rue St. Denis, Paris*, appeared at Christie's in 1908.

Girtin's influence on Turner was great. Turner himself declared: "If Tom Girtin had lived, I should have starved." And there was so much foundation for his terrors that, while their careers ran on parallel lines, Girtin was always ahead. He died, however, at twenty-nine, his end hastened by drink.

WATER-COLOR PAINTINGS—DRAWINGS

Beside the Cozens and Girtin, a great number of artists, or draughtsmen, were putting more or less skill and intelligence into the task of exploring the capacities of water color. It will be sufficient here to name men like Henry Edridge (1769–1844), who distinguished himself in several *genres*; A. W. Devis (1763–1822), John Webber (1752–1792) and William Alexander (1767–1816), all of whom worked in what were then remote parts of the world; Thomas Hearne (1744–1817), John (1745–1786) and Robert Cleveley (d. 1809), Nicholas Pocock (1741–1821),



FIG. 491.—LINCOLN. (DE WINT.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.



FIG. 492.—VALE OF IRTHING. (COPLEY FIELDING.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.

(see p. 208). All these were eclipsed when Turner began to let his imagination work on the possibilities of the medium, and, in drawing after drawing, to lift it from a byway of art into a high road along which the painter could march, head up, with only one misgiving. Working in a material of which you distrust the permanency is a little like fighting with an unguarded rear. But

Michael Angelo Rooker, A.R.A. (1743–1801), William Marlow (1740–1813), William Pars (1742–1782), William Payne (exhibiting from 1786 to 1813), Edward Dayes (1763–1804), who influenced Turner considerably; and the three Maltons, already noticed



FIG. 493.—WINDSOR CASTLE. (DAVID COX.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.

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FIG. 494.—CORN FIELD. (DAVID COX.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.

widened its grasp, he enriched its effects, he invented its devices : until it was capable of such productions as the *Edinburgh* or *Battle of Fort Rock*, in the National Gallery, or such a wonderful color dream as the *Doge's Palace*, in the National Gallery of Ireland. The best way to learn the whole depth and breadth of

a hundred years ago, perhaps, distrust had not begun to creep in, and no premonition of the ruin which has now overtaken too many drawings of the time had yet come to spoil the pleasure of their making. As soon as Turner's halting years were over, he began to extend the province of water color, and this he never ceased to do until his creative days were past. He



FIG. 495.—MACBETH AND THE MURDERERS.
(G. CATTERMOLE.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.



FIG. 496.—VENICE. (J. HOLLAND.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.

Turner as a water-color painter is to study three public collections : the collection of finished drawings in the National Gallery, which is quite accessible and easy of examination in spite of what over-hasty criticism has said to the contrary ; and the two small collections left to the Scottish and Irish Galleries, respectively, by the late Henry Vaughan. These two latter collections have the unique advantage, as collections, of being entirely unfaded, an advantage they will retain, as Mr. Vaughan's will requires that they shall only be exposed to day-

WATER-COLOR PAINTINGS—DRAWINGS

light under certain specified conditions, which completely secures them against damage.

Early in the nineteenth century the water-color painters had so far begun to feel their strength that a certain number of the leading spirits among them combined to form an academy, or rather an Exhibiting Society, of their own. The original members included



FIG. 497.—STILL SUMMER. (F. O. FINCH.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.



FIG. 498.—BORGIA S'AMUSE. (ROSSETTI.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.

had a great effect on the development of the gifted Richard Parkes Bonington (1801–1828), who affords the most remarkable instance known, perhaps, of race and nationality prevailing over environment in the formation of an artist. For Bonington was almost entirely French in training and education, but in his art as English as man could be.

The later history of English water color resolves itself merely into a catalogue of famous names, and a few notes on their varieties of ideal and practice.

George Barret, junr. (died 1842), W. Havell (1782–1857), Joshua Christall (1767–1847), J. Varley (1778–1842), Cornelius Varley (1781–1873), and eleven men of less importance. François Louis Thomas Francia (1772–1839), a native of Calais, settled in London, was elected shortly after the Society was founded, and took a considerable share in moulding the future of the school. He also



FIG. 499.—KING RENE'S HONEY-MOON. (ROSSETTI.)

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FIG. 500.—WARKWORTH CASTLE.
(SIR ERNEST WATERLOW.)

The nature of the material prevented these varieties from being very great, and kept the painter of familiar England on one narrow platform with the figure painter and the illustrator of the larger aspects of nature abroad.

The most flourishing period of all, the period between the foundation of the "old Society" and the commencement of that doubt of the material's permanence which has made



FIG. 501.—PLOUGHING IN SUSSEX. (THORNEWAITE.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.

itself felt during the last five and twenty years, was illumined by the



FIG. 502.—HAYFIELD, AMBERLEY. (WIMPERIS.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.

genius of some ten or twelve men. These were: George Barret, junr., already mentioned, Samuel Prout (1783–1852), William Henry Hunt (1790–1864), Peter de Wint (1784–1849), Anthony Vandyke Copley Fielding (1787–1855), David Cox (1783–1859), George Cattermole (1800–1868), William James Muller (1812–1845), Francis Oliver Finch (1802–1862), and James Holland (1800–

MISS VERNON AS THE SEAMSTRESS

By Romney

(After color-print by T. Cheesman)



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commence-
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(After color-print by T. Cressman)



THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

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men. These were: George
Frederick, already men-
tioned, Samuel Prout (1753-
1822), William Henry Hunt
(1792-1869), Peter de Wint
(1754-1847), Anthony Van-
der Culey Fielding (1787-
1850), David Cox (1783-
1859), George Catermole
(1791-1858), William James
Moller (1812-1845), Francis
Oliver Finch (1802-1862),
and James Holland (1800-



1870). All these were drawing-masters, and in that employment acquired the combination of facility, vigor and richness which marks the whole group. The necessity for producing an effective result in the minimum of time was an excellent discipline. It did not permit the ground to be covered twice. Tones had to be laid at once in their proper strength, and modelling was done less by adding than by rubbing out. The results were luminous pictures, with the light inside them.

George Barret was the son of the Irish disciple of Wilson mentioned in a previous chapter. He distinguished himself chiefly by his mastery of atmosphere, in which he reminds us of Albert Cuyp. In design, however, he was more akin to Claude, delighting in elaborately balanced compositions of a classical stamp. These he painted in oil as well as water. A fine example is at South Kensington. F. O. Finch excelled in the same Claudesque style of art as Barret.

Samuel Prout is famous for the sympathetic skill with which he delineated time-worn specimens of Gothic and Renaissance architecture; Copley Fielding for the dexterity with which he treated subjects requiring technical experience; Peter de Wint for his consummate craftsmanship, as befitted his Batavian blood; Muller and James Holland for their decorative brilliance; and David Cox, the best of the whole group, for the happy novelty of his most expressive style, and for his love of every-



FIG. 503.—THE DRINKER.
(WAINWRIGHT.)



FIG. 504.—MRS. SIDDONS. (J. DOWNMAN.)
From Print.

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FIG. 505.—PASTEL PORTRAIT. (JOHN RUSSELL.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.

Walker (1840–1875) as its leader. Its art is aggressively English, depending for inspiration on what our German friends would call sentimentality; but justifying itself to some extent by the frequently exquisite quality of its execution. After Walker himself, its most distinguished member was George Pinwell (1842–



FIG. 506.—FEMALE FIGURE.
(GAINSBOROUGH?)
British Museum.

thing which makes for beauty in nature. W. H. Hunt is more narrowly imitative. Some would deny his right to be considered an artist at all, and, indeed, he is so inarticulate in design that it takes all his gift for color to excite much interest to-day. A large number of other water-color painters who have distinguished themselves, or at least earned their fame, mainly in oil, might be noticed here, but that would be repetition. The list includes such names as those of Madox Brown, Millais, Rossetti, and Burne-Jones.

A small group which requires to be noticed by itself is that which clusters round Frederick Walker (1840–1875), who, like Walker, gave more than one hint that beneath the anecdotic form of art, to which most of his days were given, lay a robust power which might have led him far had the fates been more propitious. Walker and Pinwell had a following in their lives, and are never likely to lose it entirely; for their art appeals to a continuing passion of the Anglo-Saxon race.

The generation which has followed these men has been notable as a whole for its experiments with the medium. Certain painters of ability, such as the late Thomas Collier, Mr. Thornewaite, Sir Ernest Waterlow, and E. M. Wimperis, have been content with the sim-

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plidity of the old ways, and have carried on the traditions of Cox and De Wint. But others seem to have felt that new methods were required to keep up public interest in their art; hence many technical developments, mostly connected with body color, and a much wider range of subject than used to be thought sufficient. In the invention of novelties a younger institution than the "old Society," the Institute of Painters in Water Colors, has shown, perhaps, the greater activity. In recent years attempts have been made to widen the province of water color and to spur it into a mistaken rivalry with oil. But these attempts have been suggested, not by artistic considerations, but merely by the demand for novelty made by a *blasé* generation. Continental practice has also contributed to lead English water-color painting out of its ancient ways, and to make it a thing of ingenuity and dexterity rather than of sincere art. The young French *aquarellistes*, especially, have turned the water-color artist into the Paganini of Painting.

Work in Pastel almost comes under the head of water color, so often has the latter medium been called in to help out the former. Pastel flourished in England during the second half of the eighteenth century, beginning with such men as Arthur Pond (whose pastels, although numerous, are generally unrecognized as his), and Francis Cotes, and ending with John Russell and J. R. Smith. The recent revival has again led to



FIG. 507.—CHALK DRAWING (ALFRED STEVENS.)

Victoria and Albert Museum.



FIG. 508.—CHALK DRAWING. (ALFRED STEVENS.)

Victoria and Albert Museum.

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FIG. 509.—STUDY FOR ISAIAH GROUP,
ST. PAUL'S. (ALFRED STEVENS.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.

very clever work being done in the method.

DRAWINGS

The Anglo-Norman genius never having been of such a character as to demand expression in line, or form to use a wider term, drawings are comparatively rare in the English school. Our painters have loved to begin their work on the canvas, with the smallest possible antecedent labor in the way of sketches, studies, investigations of structure and movement. In the eighteenth century very few indeed made serious drawings. Those of Reynolds were rough scribbles, giving little more than the crudest indications of what was intended. Hogarth's drawings were blocked-out maps of pictures; Romney practically did none at all; Gainsborough alone drew in the sense that the French and Italians drew. His drawings, whether of figures or landscape, are among the finest ever produced and now fetch enormous prices at auction. They are always studies of move-



FIG. 510.—TURNING THE SOD. (COTMAN.)
British Museum.

ment, with its decoration of sympathetic drapery in the case of figures; and of light and shadow in the case of landscape. They are never objective studies of structure. Hoppner made good drawings of landscape, rather too slavishly modelled on those of Gainsborough. As a young man Lawrence lived by making drawings, and continued the habit, more or less, throughout his life. But his works in line are strangely weak and empty; the drawing in his better pictures—the *Angerstein* in the National Gallery and the *Warren Hastings* in the National

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Portrait Gallery, for instance—is infinitely finer than anything he did with the point. The little portraits of Downman are masterpieces in their own way, and may fairly be classed as black and white; for their color is a mere tinting, often put on from the back, and their beauty lies in the sculpturesque purity of their contours, combined with an agreeable flow of line elsewhere. A number of good drawings have also been left by Raphael Smith, Wilkie, Bonington, and others. But the habit was seldom persistent enough to lead to great results, either in quality or quantity.

The landscape men make a far better show than the figure painters. The drawings of Turner are real preparations for pictures, notes of all the phenomena of nature, transfigured sometimes and always affected by his own feeling in their presence. Those of Constable are superb, showing the happiest combination of objective with subjective qualities. Crome was a master of black and white, and Cotman more than a master. Some of his drawings—*Turning the Sod* and *The Centaur*, both in the British Museum, for instance—betray a pictorial imagination of the highest rank.

On the whole, however, the painters of the first half of the nineteenth century were dumb as linear draughtsmen. It was not until the pre-Raphaelite movement came to draw attention to all the habits of the early Italian painters that much was done with the point. And even then it was not in line, strictly speaking, that the English painter thought. The first man to do really fine work was Alfred Stevens, one of the greatest masters of design that



FIG. 511.—THE CENTAUR. (COTMAN.)
British Museum.



FIG. 512.—LANDSCAPE. (COTMAN.)
Sir Hickman Bacon, Bart.



FIG. 513.—TREES. (CONSTABLE.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.

ever lived. His best chalk drawings have never been excelled. From the time of Stevens onward, British painters have been much readier to use the point than ever before. Not that his example had much, or anything, to do with it. For so great an artist he has remained curiously unknown, even to the present day. The revival of drawing is part of the general movement which has breathed vitality, if not always excellence, into every department of art. The drawings of Lord Leighton, of Sir Edward Burne-Jones, of Albert Moore, have qualities which will preserve them from

oblivion, while those of Whistler will take place, beside his etchings and lithographs, with the finest of modern works in line. When we turn to living painters it is difficult to make sure of saying anything which will stand the test of time: for a painter may fail to attract notice with his brush, and yet do good work, more or less in secret, with the point. It is safe, however, to say that our descendants will treasure the drawings of Mr. J. M. Swan, Mr. Augustus John, Mr. Muirhead Bone, and a few others.

In drawings conceived for the sake of illustration, our English school has been prolific, and distinguished, for a century or more.



FIG. 514.—SALISBURY. (CONSTABLE.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.

But comparatively few of those who have devoted themselves to this class of work have made their bull's-eyes on the right target. Instead of depending on line, they have too often hankered after color, tone, and other qualities not to be easily made good with the point. This is particularly true of Frederick Walker and his school. In recent years a great improvement in this

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matter has taken place, and it would now be possible to compile a long list of workers in black and white who are thoroughly alive to the limits, as well as to the powers, of their art. Much of the credit of this improvement must be given to the illustrated newspapers and cheap magazines. The first of these to show the way was the *Illustrated London News*, founded more than half a century ago ; and a further long stride in advance was made by the *Graphic*, some twenty years later. The managers of the latter periodical gathered a regular school of young workers in black and white about them, and gave a stimulus to this particular branch of art which is not yet exhausted. For a time such work was all entrusted to the wood cutter, but a day came at last when processes founded on photography enabled fac-similes to be produced at small cost and with great fidelity. This brought work with the pen to the front. Pen-drawing lent itself to methods which helped the draughtsman to do himself rapid justice, to produce brilliant results promptly, and with a certainty limited only by his own capacity. It may fairly be called the characteristic art of the last quarter of a century, and has had an enormous influence in spreading among people in general less faulty notions on art than those which used to be commonly held. Clever draughtsmen with the pen, artists in black and white, are now so numerous that to name a few would be invidious, but this form of drawing cannot be mentioned at all without exciting memories of such men as Charles Keene and Phil May.

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FIG. 515.—SLEEPING SOLDIERS ON THE EASTER SEPULCHRE. LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

CHAPTER XIX

SCULPTURE—FIRST PERIOD—GOTHIC SCULPTURE

THE history of Early Sculpture in the British Isles shows the same peculiarities as that of our other arts. In the first place, it is full of gaps; the image-breakers have swept away links wholesale, which we are left to divine from what went before and came after. Secondly, the advance from barbarism to cultivation was very



FIG. 516.—SOUTH DOOR OF ANGEL CHOIR.
LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

far from continuous, and, more frequently than in other countries, we are shifted from one racial development to another. These latter changes correspond with the modifications in the English population, and illustrate what was said in our first chapter of the racial characteristics of European Art. The oldest remains in Great Britain which can be brought under the head of Sculpture in any developed sense, are a number of crosses which have been called Anglian but which are undeniably Celtic in inspiration. The finest is the cross at Bewcastle, in Cumberland, with a figure of Christ on one face and characteristic Celtic ornament on the other three.

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The inscriptions it bears allow this monument to be ascribed to the middle of the second half of the seventh century. It is a first-rate example of the early Celtic instinct for expression in line, and the control of a pattern into unity. Contemporary with this, or but little later, are several other crosses and fragments in the neighborhood of the Border. These all belong to an epoch of fine inspiration, depending, probably, for the excellence of their technique on the presence of craftsmen from Eastern Europe among the native sculptors. But the Eastern influence has, perhaps, been exaggerated, or rather misunderstood. It is there, no doubt, but only as affecting craftsmanship. Its effect upon the controlling Celtic spirit is hardly perceptible.

In the south of England, with Winchester for its centre, a different ideal assumed control after the Saxon Conquest. A school with a Teutonic rather than a Celtic character gradually established itself. Technically, its ideal was one of research, rather than of unity and breadth, while its conceptions were complex, crowded, and dramatic, rather than simple, coherent, and sculpturesque. Fine examples of this Saxon school at a fully developed moment are the famous reliefs in Chichester Cathedral dealing with the story of Lazarus (Figs. 517 and 518), *Christ coming to the House of Martha and Mary* and *The Raising of Lazarus*. There is a sense



FIG. 517.—SAXON BAS-RELIEF: CHRIST COMING TO THE HOUSE OF MARTHA AND MARY. CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.



FIG. 518.—SAXON BAS-RELIEF: THE RAISING OF LAZARUS. CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.



FIG. 510.—DETAIL
FROM SOUTH DOOR-
WAY. LINCOLN
CATHEDRAL.

of striving after refinement in the execution, and not a little technical ambition. Such difficult matters as three-quarter profiles are attempted. Besides these Chichester reliefs, other important relics of the school exist in certain large roods, of which Bradford-on-Avon and Romsey possess the best specimens. These were sometimes accompanied by attendant angels, of which also a few examples still exist.

The Norman Conquest brought another change. The conquerors were a vigorous race, lately from the North, stirred by æsthetic ambitions derived from the Celts they had subdued. They at once set about covering their latest acquisition with monuments of architecture, but it was long before they made any serious attempt to add the glory of free sculpture to their other activities. Their great cathedrals, Winchester, St. Albans, probably London and Canterbury, were left bare of any figure decoration but that of the painter. At Lincoln, indeed, certain reliefs stand on the west front which would be early and important examples of Norman figure work, could they be accepted as contemporary with the architecture in which they appear. For this front was in building, by Bishop Remigius, as early as 1075. But these reliefs are of such a character that the choice



FIG. 520.—CIRCULAR BOSS. CHESTER
CATHEDRAL.

seems to lie between assigning them to the Saxon era and the first half of the twelfth century. In a sketch of our national sculpture, as an art by itself, no place need be found for such carving as was done in the days of round arched Gothic. Even in its most developed form, as in the West Portal of Rochester Cathedral, it is narrowly architectonic.

Gothic sculpture, in any free sense, may be said to have begun with the fashion of introducing carved heads at certain

SCULPTURE—FIRST PERIOD

points in First Pointed structures. These heads were, of course, decorations, but the corbels, label-ends, and string-stops, which supplied their *raisons d'être* were so exactly adapted to their forms, that the carver could work as freely, and express himself as sincerely, as if he were under no conditions but those of tools and material. It was not so with capitals, string courses, spandrels. There the structural forms modified the decorative, and the sculptor's work is often meaningless—as expressive art—without the surrounding architecture.

The justifying cause of the slowness with which free sculpture developed in pointed Gothic Architecture has been well put; "Gothic Art, having found its theme in the vertebrate expression of stone building, refused to admit any discordant phrase."¹ Figure sculpture was scarcely accepted as part of their scheme by first pointed builders at all. At Canterbury, at Chichester, in the great buildings of the north, it does not exist. Scarcely a trace of it is to be found north of the Humber before the middle of the thirteenth century. It was in the south that ambition awoke, and that the future greatness of English Gothic Sculpture gave its first sign in those splendid carved heads in which we are still so rich. "Destructions, determined and continuous, have been defacing them for six hundred years, but they still remain to us by the thousand, and the fine quality, vivacity, and variety



FIG. 521.—CENSING ANGEL, LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.



FIG. 522.—THE BROTHERS OF JOSEPH, SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

¹ Prior, E. S. and Gardner, A.; "English Medieval Sculpture" (*Architectural Review*, Vols. XII to XVII).



FIG. 523.—FIGURES, WEST FRONT, WELLS CATHEDRAL.

of their treatment are astonishing." (Prior and Gardner.) In the great majority of cases they were carved *in situ*, the stones being already built into the walls. But in certain districts a good many occur which were supplied to the masons ready-made, having been carved at some central *atelier* out of the local stone. By the middle of the thirteenth century the ability of the English carver was thoroughly developed, and excellent work was being done all over the country, proving that English builders had a plentiful supply of native skill and knowledge at their command. By this time the head-carving had fully developed its national characteristics of refinement of execution and delicacy of



FIG. 524.—FIGURES ON THE GATEWAY TO THE CLOSE, PETERBOROUGH.

sentiment, and had been supplemented by a growing ability to treat the figure as a whole. Figure sculpture was first strictly confined to those points where it was demanded by the architecture: the corbels, &c., already referred to, bosses (Fig. 520), capitals, where it lived in some discomfort, and those triangular spaces above the shoulders of an arch which call so loudly for occupation (Figs. 521-22). After the heads, the next specimens of figure sculpture we can point to are in these same spandrels, the finest examples being at Lincoln, Salisbury, and Westminster Abbey. At Lincoln and Westminster the spandrel shape has determined the character of the figures. These are practically restricted to angels, whose wings help them to be happy at their posts. The finer angels at Lincoln are equal to anything of their date in Europe, or for long after; while the best of those at Westminster, such

SCULPTURE—FIRST PERIOD

as the two in the angles of the north transept, are scarcely inferior. The figures of soldiers on the Easter Sepulchre at Lincoln are examples of the same style at its happiest and most developed moment (Fig. 515). At Salisbury the subjects are less closely governed by the architecture, and are, indeed, sometimes quite independently conceived, *e.g.* the group of "Lot and his Daughters," and the much restored but extraordinarily fine group of "Joseph's Brethren" (Fig. 522). The central dates of all these are for Lincoln, about 1240, for Westminster, about 1250, and for Salisbury, about 1270.

So far as quantity goes, the greatest display of English mediæval sculpture is at Wells. Here we have everything: corbel and label heads, capitals, panels in relief, sunk panels with heads and parts of figures in the round, and full length statues, standing free. Statue carving in southern England began somewhat abruptly, but in that there is nothing difficult to explain. The sculptors who had so far been employed on decorative work had acquired quite enough skill to enable them to supply the new demand the moment it arose. On the assumption that a sudden demand must have been externally met, the Wells statues have been ascribed to French, Italian, and even Greek sculptors, in defiance of the fact that no similar work can be pointed to on any part of the European continent. No evidence, indeed, of any kind has been discovered to suggest that the work is foreign, unless, indeed, the fact that a certain number of figures high up on the West Front bear Arabic numerals on their backs, can be called so. In these some writers would see Italian masons' marks. But Arabic numerals had come into occa-



FIG. 525.—MADONNA,
CHAPTER HOUSE, YORK.



FIG. 526.—TOMB OF ARCHBISHOP
GRAY, YORK
(Purbeck figure.)

which enframes them. They are carved from the Douling stone of which the cathedral is built. Originally their total number seems to have been about 255, of which 183 remain¹; those which are well out of reach being, on the whole, in fairly good condition. In type they vary decisively from the figures at Lincoln and Salisbury, but a certain affinity can be traced with the two figures over the door of

sional use in this country as early as the middle of the thirteenth century, which is not too late for these figures, and other explanations of their presence might be given.¹ The absence of anything elsewhere to which these statues can fairly be compared is evidence of their English and local origin which cannot easily be refuted. In character, they have the serene simplicity which distinguishes the early sculpture of all schools, and, freely conceived as they are, they fit into and carry on the spirit of the architecture



FIG. 527.—FIGURE IN
HENRY V.'S CHANTRY,
WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

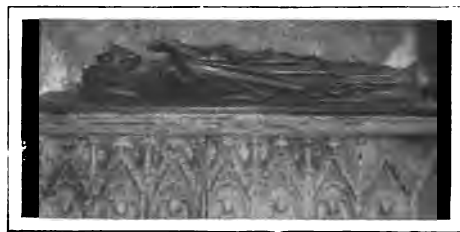


FIG. 528.—TOMB OF ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM, CANTERBURY.
(Wooden figure.)

the Westminster Chapter House, which illustrate the subject of the Annunciation.

¹ Prior and Gardner suggest, for instance, that these statues were moved out of harm's way while the towers were being built, in 1380-1430, and numbered in order to secure their return to their right places.

² *Archæologia*, vol. lix, p. 147.

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After Wells, Exeter has the richest display of sculpture to be found on any English Cathedral (Fig. 85). Here again the statues are carved from a local stone, which has weathered very differently from that of Wells. At Wells the statues are mutilated, but sharp, the Douling stone breaking more readily than it dissolves. At Exeter the reverse is

the case, with the result that those technical details which are so useful in determining dates and origins are mostly illegible. The spirit of the Exeter work is quite distinct from the earlier sculpture at Wells. It is *mouvementé* and dramatic in conception, and must be referred to some artist or school of artists who were less profoundly sympathetic with architecture than those of Wells. In addition to these great cathedral-families of statues, numerous English churches bear wit-



FIG. 530.—PIETÀ. BREADSALL, DERBYSHIRE.
(Alabaster.)

ness to the existence of a widespread school of sculpture throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, although, like all other activities, it shrank and cowered for a time after the murderous visitation of the Black Death. Good sculpture cannot be produced sporadically, and a single fragment is enough to prove that where it was carried out there must once have been much more. Such statues, to take instances at random, as the Madonna on the central pillar of the doorway to the Chapter House at York Minster (Fig. 525), the figures on Henry



FIG. 529.—TOMB OF EARL AND COUNTESS OF ARUNDEL.



FIG. 531.—BISHOP FOUND AT FLAWFORD, NOTTS.
(Alabaster.)

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FIG. 532.—THE ANNUNCIATION.
British Museum.
(Alabaster.)

ducts came into such demand—partly, no doubt, through royal insistence—that a regular school grew up around them. Beginning early in the second half of the twelfth century, orders were received from many parts of England for shafts, capitals, and other decorative members, as well as for statues, both for niches and tombs. Purbeck developed a style of its own, so that for a century and a half, from 1175 to 1325, the marbler, with his attendant polisher, was the chief nurse of our native Gothic sculpture. Westminster Abbey and the Temple Church are rich in the work of the Purbeck marblers, the effigies in the Temple including both early and late examples. Peterborough has the tombs of five abbots; Worcester the tomb of King John (Fig. 545) with its fine recumbent



FIG. 534.—MADONNA,
FLAWFORD, NOTTS.
(Alabaster.)



FIG. 533.—FIGURE WITH
MODEL OF A CHURCH,
FLAWFORD, NOTTS.
(Alabaster.)

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figure, and York that of Archbishop Gray (Fig. 526).

Early in the fourteenth century the Purbeck fashion died out, and was succeeded by figures in stone, bronze, alabaster, or wood. The marblers seem to have brought about their own supersession by the common error of not knowing where to stop. Not content with the polished Purbeck, they elaborated it with painting and gilding, until at last their fine material was entirely overlaid and hidden. This left them at the mercy of the stone workers, whose figures, when similarly decorated, looked as well as their Purbeck rivals and were far less costly. (Prior and Gardner.)

The completion of the Wells sculpture and the decaying vogue of the Purbeck *ateliers* threw a large number of statue makers on the country at large. These men dispersed to various centres, and the greater homogeneity which marks English Gothic sculpture after about 1300 may have been due in some degree to their influence.

The eclipse of the Purbeck marblers, then, was brought about by the ability of workers in cheaper substances to rival their effects. The superseding materials were freestone and wood, and the chief centre at which these were employed appears to have been London. From the middle of the thirteenth century onward the capital supplied much of the sculpture required and more or less controlled its character. Varieties of style can, of course, be traced, from the



FIG. 535.—TOMB AT HOLME-PIERREPOINT, NOTTS.
(Alabaster.)



FIG. 536.—TOMB OF SIR RALPH GREEN,
LOWICK, NORTHANTS.
(Alabaster.)



FIG. 537.—HOLME-PIERREPOINT, NOTTS.
(Alabaster.)

and much damaged knight at Aldworth, Berks, which curiously echoes Michelangelo's conception of Adonis; the statues of the Lady Aveline, of her husband, Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, and of Aymer de Valence, at Westminster; of Lady Fitzalan at Chichester, and the Burghersh tomb, at Lincoln.

Among the many scores of wooden figures which still exist, scattered all over England, the finest, probably, is that of Archbishop Peckham, at Canterbury (Fig. 528). Westminster Abbey has the figure of William de Valence (in which a wooden core supports a copper skin) and the rude core of what was once, probably, a magnificent effigy of Henry V.

The fashion of alabaster figures was a later development, but lasted longer and spread more widely than any of the others. More than



FIG. 538.—TOMB IN SOUTHWELL CATHEDRAL.
(Alabaster.)

500 specimens have been catalogued. It had its origin in the existence of rich deposits of the material known as English alabaster all across the country, from southern Lincolnshire to Staffordshire. These appear to have been often drawn upon for the sculptor before the great development of the tomb-figure industry began. A curious Mantegnesque

reposeful attitudes and sharply cut plaited draperies of the Wells school to the free action and billowy folds of some northern and eastern centres. But a London parallel for any provincial accent can nearly always be found. Among the freestone statues, either made in London or under its influence, may be named the figures of the Eleanor Cross at Northampton, which were carved in London by one William of Ireland in 1290, a recumbent

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Pietà (Fig. 530), a series of figurines (Figs. 531, 533–34) and reliefs (Fig. 532) have come down to us, some of which are beautiful. The docile material put no difficulty in the sculptor's way, which was not entirely an advantage. A great school of what were called "Alabasters" sprang up, and for several generations met a large part of the demand for sepulchral effigies, not only in England, but also on the Continent, and, in another direction, as far as Iceland. Its results were but little above the industrial level, as a rule. A few are real



FIG. 539.—TOMB.
(Alabaster.)

works of art, but the majority are so designed as to awake a suspicion that the *ateliers* charged for their products according to weight! The list of "alabasters" seems never to have included a sculptor of any really free imagination. To be sure, no worse school of design in the round could be suggested, perhaps, than one which involved the constant manufacture of recumbent figures of men in armor. Among the best which have come down to us may be named the effigy of John of Eltham, in Westminster Abbey, the figure of William Fettiplace, in Swinbrook Church, Oxfordshire, and the various works figured in these pages (Figs. 535–540), especially the fine and really artistic statue of Edward II. at Gloucester (Fig. 540), and the figure of a knight at Holme Pierrepont (Fig. 535).



FIG. 540.—HEAD OF EDWARD II.,
GLOUCESTER.
(Alabaster.)

Metal working of all kinds flourished in Gothic England, as the records prove, although so few of its results can now be pointed to. English goldsmiths, like those of other countries, extended their operations to the production of bronze statues and figurines, to the casing of those in wood, and the



FIG. 541.—HEAD OF RICHARD II.
WESTMINSTER ABBEY.
(Bronze: from a cast.)

ary in modelling, while even the Richard II. (Figs. 541, 543) and his queen, Anne of Bohemia, are inferior to the Eleanor and the Henry. The small figurines which used to form a complete *cortège* of weepers round these Gothic tombs are often freer in

decoration, by various devices, of those in stone and marble. And, unlike the workers in these latter materials, their names have not been entirely forgotten. The fame of one English family of bronze workers, at least, has persisted. These were the Torels, who worked in London as goldsmiths for the better part of a century. In the year 1291 "William Torel, aurifaber," was paid the sum of £113. 6. 8. for three bronze figures, including those of Queen Eleanor (Fig. 542) and of Henry III. in Westminster Abbey. These are the finest of the Abbey bronzes. The later Edward III. (Fig. 544) is curiously stiff and element-



FIG. 542.—FIGURE OF QUEEN ELEANOR.
(WILLIAM TOREL.) WESTMINSTER ABBEY.
(Bronze: from a cast.)

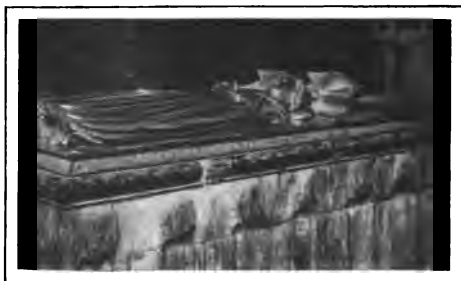


FIG. 543.—FIGURES OF RICHARD II. AND HIS QUEEN,
WESTMINSTER ABBEY.
(Bronze.)

conception than the main effigies.

The later phases of Gothic architecture were nearly as bare of free sculpture as the earliest. The "alabasters," whose productions held the field until the seventeenth century, superseded the local and London imagers, while the

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countless niches provided by the workers in perpendicular Gothic seem, in many cases, to have been left unfilled, and, in others, to have been occupied by figures scarcely higher in the artistic scale than those supplied by the modern purveyors of fonts, pulpits, lecterns, and other church furniture.



FIG. 544.—FIGURE OF EDWARD III.
WESTMINSTER ABBEY. (Bronze.)

For Bibliography, see end of Chapter XXI.



FIG. 545.—TOMB OF KING JOHN, WORCESTER.
(Purbeck marble.)



FIG. 546.—CENOTAPH OF WELLINGTON. (ALFRED STEVENS.) ST. PAUL'S.

CHAPTER XX

SCULPTURE—MIDDLE PERIOD

THE practice of sculpture as a Fine Art ceased in England for several generations after the final extinction of our Gothic School. The active demand for sepulchral effigies, which has been as continuous a feature of our national life as that for painted portraits, was met by the alabasters. Although some of these showed considerable artistic power, their activity on the whole was organized on commercial rather than æsthetic lines, and tended to discourage rather than to promote the re-birth of sculpture in its highest form. The first man to show much individuality, and to bring back some small modicum of vitality to the art, was Nicholas Stone (1586–1647), who would, however, have described himself as a mason rather than as a sculptor. He studied for a time at Amsterdam, under the son of Hendrik de Keyser, the famous sculptor, whose granddaughter he married. Returning to England, he did much work at the Royal Palaces, in London and Edinburgh, and as a mason executed several of Inigo Jones's designs. The porch of St. Mary's, Oxford, usually ascribed to Jones (Fig. 177), was almost certainly both designed and carried out by Stone, to whom, also, must be credited the beautiful gates of the Physic, or Botanical Garden, in the same University. Several tombs in Westminster Abbey are by him, also the statue of Dr. Donne in

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his winding sheet in St. Paul's. One of his best monuments is that of Sir Julius Czesar, in great Saint Helen's. Stone is one of the few early artists who have left documents: his account book is in the Soane Museum. His eldest son, Henry, was the painter known as "Old Stone" (see page 169). Stone left a pupil or assistant who must be noticed. This was Caius Gabriel Cibber (1630–1700), a native of Flensburg, in Holstein, who is best known as the maker of the two figures in "Bedlam," *Melancholy* and *Raving Madness* (Fig. 548). He was also employed at Chatsworth, and made the *Phoenix* over the south door of St. Paul's, as well as the panel in relief on the west side of Wren's Monument of London. Cibber married one Jane Colley, and by her became father of Colley Cibber.

The first English sculptor to work freely and expressively in the Renaissance spirit was Grinling Gibbons, to whose merit Fame, even now, has done but scanty justice. He was born in Holland of English parents. As an artist he showed a combination of designing power with patience and technical skill which would have carried him far with better opportunities. As a decorator his best performances are to be found at Chatsworth, Petworth, Burghley, in St. Paul's, London, and in Trinity College, Oxford (Fig. 180). His statue of James II., which has been moved within the last few years from its original site behind the Banqueting House into St. James's Park, is one of the finest bronzes in Europe (Fig. 547). Gibbons designed and executed the pedestal for the statue of Charles II.



FIG. 547.—JAMES II. (GRINLING GIBBONS.) ST. JAMES'S PARK.



FIG. 548.—"MELANCHOLY" AND "RAVING MADNESS." (CIBBER.) BETHLEHEM HOSPITAL.

ART IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND



FIG. 549.—COLLEY CIBBER.
(Unknown.) Colored terra cotta.
National Portrait Gallery.

abuse. His statue of Queen Anne in front of St. Paul's was a butt for nearly two centuries, and yet Belt's copy shows that it was by no means destitute of artistic balance and unity. His great relief in the pediment over the west door shows errors of taste, in its stone rays of sunlight and over-picturesque treat-



FIG. 551.—GEORGE III. (WYATT.)
COCKSPUR STREET.
Bronze.

in the great quadrangle of Windsor Castle, and may possibly have supplied sketches for the beautiful pedestal of Le Sueur's Charles I., at Charing Cross, which was carried out, however, by one Marshall (Cust). A great deal of wood carving is ascribed to him without evidence and against the probabilities.

Cibber and Gibbons were both more or less responsible for Francis Bird (1667-1731), a native of London, who, after a boyhood spent abroad, set himself to profit by the example of the two older artists. Bird's productions have been the victims of indiscriminate



FIG. 550.—DR. JOHNSON.
(BACON.) ST. PAUL'S.

ment generally, but the single figures on the same front are very good, as, also, is his Dr. Busby in Westminster Abbey.

All these men were more or less inspired by the decorative impulse characteristic of the Renaissance. Their draperies were vehicles for much play of light and shadow; the movement of their figures was rather complex than simple, and opportunities for the introduction of ornament were sought after rather than 290

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avoided. This tendency was now to be abandoned for one in the opposite direction, and English sculpture was to strip itself deliberately of all those aids which might, if properly used, have enabled it to rise to a level not unworthy of English painting. A classical severity is admirable in a Greek climate and a Greek society where constant familiarity with the naked human figure at its best breeds a sense of structure, form and texture which is not to be learnt from a few tame specimens in a studio. For artists working under the conditions of England in the eighteenth century, classic ideas were fatal. They meant giving up everything on which the sculptor had relied as vehicles for self-expression, and receiving in return the mere shadow of a knowledge which is useless until it is complete.

Four sculptors may be chosen as typical of the whole during this period of what was fondly believed to be classical purity and restraint. They were Thomas Banks, Joseph Nollekens, John Bacon, and John Flaxman. Banks (1735–1805) was the first English sculptor to depend on a Grecian elegance to give charm to his art. Nollekens (1737–1823), a Low-Countryman by extraction, had the same predilections, but a happy fate compelled him to spend most of his time in making busts. Into these he contrived to pour no little vitality in spite of his neglect of detail. By John Bacon (1740–1799)—the first Academy student to receive a gold medal for sculpture from the first of the P.R.A.'s—the best work extant is, probably, the statue of Johnson (Fig. 550) in St. Paul's. The movement is appropriate and coherent, the drapery well cast and near enough to the Roman spirit. Bacon had also some facility as a purely decorative sculptor, as his monument of Lord Halifax, in Westminster Abbey, shows, Flaxman (1755–1826), fol-



FIG. 552.—SAMUEL WILBERFORCE.
(S. JOSEPH.) WESTMINSTER ABBEY.



FIG. 553.—OUTRAM. (FOLEY.) CALCUTTA.
Bronze.



FIG. 554.—ATHLETE AND PYTHON.
(LEIGHTON.)
Tate Gallery. Bronze.

above all men, the motto should be "thorough." The simplicity of the Greek satisfies because it barely veils profound knowledge, that of his imitator leaves us cold because we have a sense of emptiness behind. I may illustrate this by a comparison which, I hope, will not seem frivolous. Such a statue as the kneeling boy of Subiaco (Thermae, Rome) compares with the



FIG. 555.—BISHOP PHILPOT. (BROCK.)
WORCESTER.

best productions of Flaxman as a miniature by Cooper, or Smart, compares with the best to be found in a modern exhibition. The old miniaturists learnt to be *artists*; they learnt to draw and paint the human figure no less thoroughly than the picture painters; with the result that, when they simplified and generalized, they did not become empty and "cheap." Their modern successors learn merely to paint miniatures, and a glance is sufficient to show that knowledge does not breathe through their masks. Nothing could be simpler, freer from

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accent or detail, than the Subiaco boy, and yet nothing is more certain than that the mind which created it knew all there was to be known about the texture and artistic anatomy of the human body. From Flaxman and all the other English Classicizers from Banks to Gibson—and, for that matter, from those of Italy, France, Germany, and Denmark—we get no such impression.

We see they have been captured by the outward beauty of Greek sculpture, and have set out to imitate it without first mastering the knowledge from which it sprang. Of all the fine arts sculpture is that which requires the completest and profoundest knowledge of its bases. The sculptor's means of expression are so restricted, when compared to those of the painter, that he can afford to dispense with nothing which is at once within the legitimate boundaries of his *métier* and capable of enforcing his idea. It is significant that the only bearable sketch in sculpture is one based on movement and structure. The mind accepts such a sketch, knowing instinctively that its successful achievement implies the power to bring the whole adventure to a happy conclusion.

The first of the nineteenth century in England saw many sculptors at work, and, on the whole, not a little patronage extended to them. But their productions were characterized, with hardly an exception, by neglect of the more expressive qualities of their art and the cultivation of an artificial simplicity which meant nothing at all. Good conceptions were left, as it were, buried in



FIG. 556.—CENOTAPH OF LORD LEIGHTON.
(BROCK.) ST. PAUL'S. Bronze and marble.



FIG. 557.—THE BLACK PRINCE.
(BROCK.) LEEDS.
Bronze.

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FIG. 558.—GAINSBOROUGH.
(BROCK.)
Tate Gallery.

the marble, for the want of modelling. Such statues as the two *Eves* by E. H. Baily, or the so-called *Tinted Venus*, by John Gibson, would have been respectable works of art if their modelling had been carried far enough. That they were left as we see them was not so much the result of incapacity as of a mistaken theory as to the limits of sculpture and a misreading of Greek simplicity. The best known sculptors of this unhappy period were Sir Francis Chantrey (1781–1842), whose busts are often excellent; Sir Richard Westmacott (1775–1856), Samuel Joseph (Died in 1850), who has left two fine statues, *Wilkie*, in the National Gallery, and *Samuel Wilberforce* (Fig. 552) in Westminster Abbey; Patrick Macdowell (1799–1870), James Wyatt (1795–1850), E. H. Baily (1788–1866), and John Gibson (1790–1866). Better, when at his best, than any of these was John Henry Foley (1818–1874), whose *Outram*, at Calcutta (Fig. 553), *Goldsmith*, *Burke*, and *Grattan*, in Dublin, and the often unfairly abused *Prince Consort* in Hyde Park, are good if not exactly inspired works.

Foley's influence persisted after his death in the work of Lord Leighton and Mr. Thomas Brock. By the former we have two statues, both in the Tate Gallery, *An Athlete struggling with a Python* (Fig. 554), and *The Slug-gard*; by the latter, a number of groups and statues, in which a high standard is reached with singular precision. The *Black Prince* (Fig. 557) at Leeds, the *Moment of Peril*, *Eve* and *Gainsborough* (Fig. 558), in the Tate Gallery, the *Bishop Philpot*, at Worcester (Fig. 555), the cenotaph of *Lord Leighton* in St. Paul's (Fig. 556), the *Robert Raikes* on the Victoria Embankment, and the *Queen Victoria* on the last coinage of



FIG. 559.—WELLINGTON MONU-
MENT. (ALFRED STEVENS.) ST.
PAUL'S.

Bronze and marble.

SCULPTURE—MIDDLE PERIOD

her reign, are all good sculpture and show a versatility which is rare. Two other sculptors of some capacity who may be classed with these were the pre-Raphaelite Thomas Woolner (1825–1892) and George Armstead. (1828–1905). Armstead's best things, perhaps, are his tomb of *Lord Winmarleigh* and the inner doorway of the Holborn Restaurant, in London.

The greatest English artist of the nineteenth century was a sculptor, and a sculptor whose early training was obtained in the very sanctuary of those barren principles which led to nullity in all but the strongest hands. Alfred Stevens (1818–1875) was a pupil of Thorwaldsen, into whose studio in Rome he was admitted at a very early age.

His genius, happily, was so robust, and his curiosity about everything connected with art so unsleeping, that he was in no danger of being run into the moulds of other men. He really educated himself as sculptor, as painter, as architect, as *ornemaniste*. Returning to England while still young he accepted any task which involved the use of his knowledge, teaching in art schools, designing fire irons, decorating houses. His opportunity came with the death of the Duke of Wellington, when, after all the usual vicissitudes which attend a competition, he was commissioned to execute his monument. Up to that moment he was practically unknown, but the fame of what he was doing in his retired studio soon brought him a small coterie of friends and a few commissions to give variety to his labors. He died in 1875, leaving his great work still incomplete. The general conception of the Wellington monument is based on the canopy



FIG. 560.—TRUTH.
(ALFRED STEVENS.)

(From the model for the Wellington Monument.)



FIG. 561.—VALOUR.
(ALFRED STEVENS.)

(From the model for the Wellington Monument.)



FIG. 562.—PROPOSED MEMORIAL
TO THE 1851 EXHIBITION.
(ALFRED STEVENS.)
Victoria and Albert Museum.

Reading Room; the sculptural decorations of Dorchester House, including two beautiful Caryatid figures (Fig. 563); and numerous designs for metal-workers and other industrials. Stevens was one of the



FIG. 563.—CARYATID IN DOR-
CHESTER HOUSE.
(ALFRED STEVENS.)

tombs of the Italian Renaissance and, more immediately, on Mary Stuart's tomb in Westminster Abbey. But Stevens has far excelled his models in the coherence and unity of his general scheme as well as in the grand design of his groups and figures. To find anything better than his *Valour* (Fig. 561), and *Truth* (Fig. 560), we must turn to the greatest of all imaginative sculptors, to Michelangelo himself, while in its union of dignity with decorative value the effigy of Wellington with its supporting sarcophagus (Fig. 559) is quite unsurpassed. The other works of Stevens include a splendid sketch (Fig. 562) for a memorial to the 1851 Exhibition, to which Durham's commonplace production, now hidden away behind the Albert Hall, was preferred; designs for the decoration of the domes of St. Paul's and the British Museum Reading Room; the sculptural decorations of Dorchester House, including two beautiful Caryatid figures (Fig. 563); and numerous designs for metal-workers and other industrials. Stevens was one of the small band of artists whose every scribble is of value. The Tate Gallery possesses a good collection of what may be called his remains, including his cartoon for the mosaic of *Isaiah* in St. Paul's, five other oil pictures, and a number of drawings and sketches. In one respect, too, he was an innovator, for to him belongs the credit of having invented that peculiar form of design, depending on a system of abstract curves ("squirms"), which has since been carried so far by Mr. Alfred Gilbert and others, and is really the foundation of what is now called *l'art nouveau*.

The last sculptor to be mentioned

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in this chapter belongs in some ways to a later development. For although G. F. Watts had reached a patriarchal age at the time of his death, his work in the round is distinguished by the almost picturesque freedom inaugurated by Carpeaux



FIG. 564.—VITAL ENERGY. (G. F. WATTS.) KENSINGTON GARDENS.
Bronze.

and his followers, rather than by the comparatively "tight" methods of his own English contemporaries. As a sculptor he studied, indeed, under Behnes, but his real master was Phidias, and his school the pediments of the Parthenon. His best works as a sculptor are the *Clytie*, of which the Tate

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Gallery has a bronze, the *Vital Energy*, in Kensington Gardens, the magnificent equestrian group of *Hugh Lupus*, at Eaton Hall, and the monument to *Lord Lothian*.

It is greatly to be wished that a replica of the Eaton Hall group might be set up in London. Fortune has been unkind to the metropolis in dealing out to her the inferior works of her own sculptors, and in banishing their successes to the provinces and the colonies. The reason, perhaps, is to be sought in the fact that artists have their hands freer when working for provincial or colonial employers than when a committee of taste is waiting round the corner to watch what they do and to pull them up if they set foot outside the boundaries of the commonplace.



FIG. 565.—HUGH LUPUS, EARL OF CHESTER. (WATTS.)
From the model.

For Bibliography, see end of Chapter XXI.



FIG. 566.—RETABLE, ST. ALBANS' CATHEDRAL. (ALFRED GILBERT.)

CHAPTER XXI

SCULPTURE—PRESENT DAY

FEW things, as a rule, are more difficult to trace than the real origin of any movement in the Fine Arts. The usual method is to be satisfied with the working hypothesis of *post hoc, propter hoc*, and to conclude that the earlier in date of any two similar developments must have been the cause of the later. That such a line of argument has often led to wrong conclusions it would not be difficult to show. As our present business, however, is with an instance of its validity, the point need not be insisted on. Few lines of artistic affiliation are clearer than that which connects the latest phase in English sculpture with our neighbors' school of a generation ago. Down to the middle of the nineteenth century, French sculpture, although much more accomplished than English, was affected by the same misreading of Greek and Græco-Roman examples. It analyzed effects and reduced their causes to a body of principles, failing to understand that Greek art seems objective only because it was the outcome of a homogeneous society which had no temptation to be insincere. The Greek sculptor was really little less subjective than Rembrandt. To invert his inspiration, and make him the follower of *a priori* laws instead of their unwitting creator, was to transform him from a stimulant into an incubus.

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The revolt came from the same forces as the romantic movement in literature, the chief originator being Carpeaux, a man of genius although not always a man of taste. His pupil, or at least disciple, Jules Dalou, driven from Paris by the consequences of the war of 1870, came to England and



FIG. 568.—ARTEMIS. EATON HALL.
(HAMO THORNYCROFT.)

taught for years in the London studios; taught and talked, and awakened the young Englishmen who came under his influence to the effect of the shallow training and misconstrued classical tradition which had been depriving their national art of all vitality. He offered them structure and movement for the foundation of their knowledge. Instead of acquiring a superficial acquaintance with the hills and valleys of the human skin, they began to explore and master the machinery it covered. Once the means of expression thus put in their hands, they were in a fair way to express their own ideas, whatever their value. So that at last the one serious foundation of equipment, *plus* sincerity, was arrived at.

The first of the younger school to step



FIG. 567.—TEUCER. (HAMO THORNYCROFT.)
(Tate Gallery. Bronze.)



FIG. 569.—GENERAL GORDON.
(HAMO THORNYCROFT.)
TRAFALGAR SQUARE.
Bronze.

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out of the ranks was Hamo Thornycroft. He was an *enfant de la balle*, for both his father and mother were sculptors before him. His first works to attract attention were the *Artemis* (Fig. 568) and the *Teucer* (Fig. 567). The latter was exhibited in 1881, and at once made a sensation. It may be said to

have inaugurated the new movement, with its thorough modelling and tense vitality. It

was followed by a long procession of statues in which no positive failure is numbered.

They include such fine things as the *Gordon* (Fig. 569), the *Mower* (Fig. 571), the *Bishop Goodwin*, at Carlisle, the model for an *Edward I.* (Fig. 570), never executed, the absurdly placed *Cromwell*, at Westminster,

the *Gladstone*, in the Strand, with its appropriately vociferous but perhaps over-energetic acolytes, and the *Bishop Creighton* (Fig. 572), in St. Paul's.

Next to Mr. Thornycroft, the work of the late E. Onslow Ford may be mentioned. His education was a little cosmopolitan. His first work to attract much notice was a statue of Rowland Hill; after that came the fine statue of Irving, as Hamlet (Fig. 573), the *Huxley*, in the Natural History Museum, the *Shelley Memorial*, at Oxford, the *Gordon*, at Wool-



FIG. 570.—EDWARD I. (HAMO THORNYCROFT.)
Plaster.



FIG. 571.—THE MOWER.
(HAMO THORNYCROFT.)
Liverpool Gallery.
Bronze.



FIG. 572.—BISHOP
CREIGHTON.
(HAMO THORNYCROFT.)
ST. PAUL'S.
Bronze.

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FIG. 573.—IRVING, AS HAMLET.
(E. ONSLOW FORD.)
Guildhall Gallery.

give us the comparatively meaningless group we now see. The imbecility of English committees in these matters is amazing. What would be said of a patient who engaged a surgeon to cut off his leg, and then insisted on directing the operation? And yet it would be no



FIG. 575.—"MATERNITY"; BACK OF
QUEEN VICTORIA MONUMENT,
MANCHESTER.
(E. ONSLOW FORD.)

more ridiculous than for a company of generals and civil servants to insist on designing a statue. It is a miserable thing to have to confess, but the truth is that on nearly every occasion when a committee has had to select a design, whether for a building or for a less utilitarian work of art, in England, it has passed over something good to choose something bad. It has not been that English architects and sculptors were incapable, but that the laymen with whom the decisions rested did not



FIG. 574.—QUEEN VICTORIA
MONUMENT, MANCHESTER.
(E. ONSLOW FORD.)
Bronze and marble.

with, the memorial to *Dr. Jowett*, and the unsuccessful *Lord Strathnairn*, at Knightsbridge. The history of the last named is one of the many tragedies of committees. Ford's first model was excellent, the horse standing at the edge of the pedestal and looking down over his toes, while his rider peered out to the front as if watching a fight. The uniform was that of Colonel of the First Life Guards, and the whole conception had unity, both of line and action. But the Committee insisted on alterations which nearly broke the sculptor's heart and

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FIG. 576.—THE YOUTH OF ORPHEUS.
(J. M. SWAN.)
Plaster.

know a good thing when they saw it. During the last few years, happily, a truer theory on such matters has shown signs of coming to the front, and the twentieth century may turn out to be less a record of lost opportunities than the nineteenth. Before parting with Ford, it must be noted that he has left some excellent busts, the best, perhaps, being those of Sir William Orchardson and the late Mr. Ridley Corbet, the landscape painter.

From Onslow Ford it is easy to pass to his friend and neighbor, Mr. John McAllan Swan, although they had little



FIG. 577.—THE YOUTH OF ORPHEUS. BACK VIEW.
(J. M. SWAN.)

enough in common in their work. Mr. Swan, like the great majority of his fellow sculptors for the last forty years, gathered his education in more countries than one, France having a right to most of the credit. In England he studied at Worcester, and in that school at Lambeth which has done so much more than its share for English art. He may be classed as a disciple of Barye and Frémiet, who has in some ways equalled, if he has not even excelled, his models. More than any of his rivals has he worked from within outward, never losing his grip on the fact that a live animal is an engineering device, moving only as its levers and joints allow. And yet he is not satisfied with structure and its result in motion. He models the envelope of flesh, skin, and fur with greater truth of suggestion than any previous *animalier*, not excepting even his two French exemplars. Mr. Swan is one of the few moderns who can be compared with the Italians of the early renaissance in his way of looking at art. He is sculptor, painter, *ornemaniste*, and a magnificent maker of drawings. Among his



FIG. 578.—LEOPARD AND TORTOISE.
(J. M. SWAN.)
Bronze.



FIG. 579.—HOUNDS IN LEASH. (HARRY BATES.)
Tate Gallery. (Plaster.)

Swan's art and that of Harry Bates there is a good deal in common. Bates, who, like not a few of our best sculptors, began life as a carver, had a gift for the play of line which amounted to genius. Unhappily his life was short, and he has left but little behind him. His finest things, perhaps, are the reliefs of *Aeneas* and *Homer*, and the *Hounds in Leash* (Fig. 579). Other members of the same generation are Mr. Roscoe Mullins, whose chief work so far is the pediment to the Preston Museum; Mr. George Simonds, whose statue of the Northern Aurora, the goddess *Gerd*, is excellent; Mr. Stirling Lee, the sculptor of the reliefs of the St. George's Hall, in Liver-



FIG. 581.—DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.
(J. GOSCOMBE JOHN.) EASTBOURNE.

pool; Mr. Lucchesi, the Anglo-Italian author of *Destiny* and a *Flight of Fancy*; and Mr. Pomeroy, who worked under Dalou, at Lambeth, and is responsible for the excellent *Burns*, at Paisley, besides many other statues and much architectonic sculpture.



FIG. 580.—DAME ALICE OWEN.
(GEORGE FRAMPTON.)

Coming down to a slightly later time, the most notable figure among those sculptors who

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are still on the sunny side of fifty is probably Mr. George Frampton, another alumnus of Lambeth and Paris. Commencing exhibitor in 1884, he has been a faithful contributor to the Royal Academy, sending there *The Children of the Wolf* (Romulus and Remus brought home by the shepherd Faustus), *Mysteriarch*, *Lamia*, *Dame Alice Owen* (Fig. 580), and many other notable works. As a sculptor he stands by himself,

and is divided from his contemporaries by both qualities and defects.

No one of his own generation rivals his power of suggesting intellect and imagination actually at work in his figures. On the other hand, his designs are curiously wanting in that organic relation between the parts which, at its best, works out to unity. He has been responsible for much good decoration, and is credited with having done not a little to bring about a change for the

better in the aspect of English officialdom toward artistic questions. Among his best monuments are the memorial to *Charles Mitchell*, at Newcastle, the statue of *Lord Salisbury*, at Hatfield, and that of *Quintin Hogg*, in Regent Street, where the narrowness of the site and the tightly gathered design work into each other's hands.

From Mr. Frampton it is easy to pass to Mr. Goscombe John, yet another son of Lambeth. Mr. John began as a carver, and won the Gold



FIG. 582.—THE ELF. (J. GOSCOMBE JOHN.)



FIG. 583.—FORTUNE.
(F. PEGRAM.)



FIG. 584.—JOSEPH
PRIESTLEY.
(ALFRED DRURY.)

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FIG. 585.—GROUP ON WAR OFFICE.
(ALFRED DRURY.)

have all shown themselves equal to those opportunities which have come to them so much more generously than they did to English sculptors of earlier generations. Mr. Drury, especially, has left his mark on our cities, his most important works being the



FIG. 587.—VICTORY.
(ALBERT TOFT.)

Medal of the R.A. at a comparatively mature age. His strong point is modelling, which he has carried sometimes to a remarkable pitch of refinement, one of the best instances being the torso of his *Morpheus*. Other good examples of his power are a *John the Baptist*, the seated *Duke of Devonshire* (Fig. 581), at Eastbourne, and *The Elf* (Fig. 582). Mr. Pegram (Fig. 583), Mr. Alfred Drury (Figs. 584 and 585), and Mr. Albert Toft (Fig. 587)



FIG. 586.—CIRCE.
(BERTRAM MCKENNAL.)

also a chance of showing that objects of the severest utility may be the vehicles of good art. For Leeds City Square has the best group of decorative sculpture yet arranged in England, a group which should bring shame to the cheeks of those responsible for the present appearance of Parliament Square, in Westminster. In the centre is Mr. Brock's *Black Prince* (Fig. 557), surrounded by eight electric light standards by Mr. Drury, the lamps upheld by finely

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modelled figures of nude women ; the arrangement is completed by four colossal statues contributed by Mr. Drury and Mr. H. C. Fehr. Mr. Albert Toft's best things are probably *Victory* (Fig. 587) and *The Spirit of Contemplation*.

Coming down later still we reach two men of unusual capacity in Mr. Bertram McKennal and Mr. W. R. Colton. The former is the son of a Scots sculptor who emigrated to Australia, where the son was born in 1865. He was educated in London, with finishing touches in Paris. At the age of twenty-four he won the competition for decorating Government House in Melbourne.

Among his best statues are *Circe* (Fig. 586), *For She sitteth on a Seat in the High Places of the City*, and *Diana Wounded*; this last is in the Tate Gallery, which also possesses a *biblot* after Rodin convention, in *The Earth and the Elements*. Mr. Colton's train-

ing was strictly orthodox : Lambeth, Royal Academy, Paris. His best works, so far, are the *Image Finder* (Fig. 589), *The Girdle* (Fig. 588), and *Springtime of Life*, the two last in the Tate Gallery. To the same generation belong Mr. A. G. Walker, whose best things, perhaps, are *The Thorn* (Fig. 591), *Sleep*, and a fine relief, *The Last Plague*; Mr. J. Wenlock Rollins, Mr. Gilbert Bayes, Mr. Taubman, Mr. Paul Montford, and Mr. Der-



FIG. 588.—THE GIRDLER. (W. R. COLTON.)
Tate Gallery.



FIG. 589.—THE IMAGE
FINDER.
(W. R. COLTON.)



FIG. 590.—ST.
GEORGE.
(H. C. FEHR.)

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FIG. 591.—THE THORN.
(A. G. WALKER.)

the completest kind imaginable, to be accepted as enough to justify the making of a statue, and to compensate for the total absence of an organized design? In short, is good imitation good art?



FIG. 593.—MONUMENT TO QUEEN
VICTORIA, DUBLIN.
(JOHN HUGHES.)

went Wood. Mr. Wood has especially distinguished himself by his power of modelling and the flexibility of his designing power. He has probably a great future before him.

Standing somewhat apart from other English sculptors is Mr. Havard Thomas, the author of a beautiful statue and a wonderfully accomplished piece of modelling in *The Slave*, and of the much discussed *Lycidas*. We have to answer the following question before the *Lycidas* can be accepted or refused as a work of art: Is modelling, of the

The question answers itself.

In Scotland and Ireland the art of sculpture has hitherto had few chances of flourishing. In Scotland, especially, it has been feeble and meaningless, although during the last decade or two signs of better things have not been entirely wanting. Among living artists, Mr. McGillivray and Mr. Birnie Rhind are doing excellent work, the statues by the latter on the outside of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery (Fig. 592) being very good of their kind. Dublin has been more fortunate than Edin-



FIG. 592.—DOORWAY,
SCOTTISH PORTRAIT
GALLERY.
(BIRNIE RHIND.)

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burgh. While the statues fringing Prince's Street are comically bad, those which stand in the high places of the Irish capital are nearly all good. A leaden *Tom Moore* is, indeed, a disgrace to every one concerned ; but Foley, an Irishman, was at his best when working for his own metropolis (see page 294), and the *Parnell* of the late Augustus St. Gaudens promises, at least, to be far from commonplace. Meanwhile the city has been enriched with a monument to



FIG. 595.—ST. GEORGE, TOMB
OF DUKE OF CLARENCE,
WINDSOR.
(ALFRED GILBERT.)

the late Queen Victoria (Fig. 593) by a young Irish sculptor, Mr. John Hughes, which is very remarkable indeed. Its triangular pedestal is managed with unprecedented skill, and the whole movement unites originality of conception with executive power in a rare degree. So far I have been writing, in this chapter, of men who have shown themselves to be possessed of more than average abilities and far more than the average equipment which used to be at the command of English sculpture. I have yet to speak of an artist whose genius, like that of Stevens in a previous generation, sets him apart from all his contemporaries. Mr. Alfred Gilbert, the son of a musician, was trained at South Kensington, at the École des Beaux Arts, in Rome, and in the studio of Sir Edgar Boehm. His first work to attract much attention was a group, *Mother and Child* ; after that came *Icarus* (Fig. 594),



FIG. 594.—ICARUS.
(ALFRED GILBERT.)
Bronze.



FIG. 596.—TRAGEDY AND
COMEDY.
(ALFRED GILBERT.)
Bronze.

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one of the finest designs ever realized by a sculptor, busts of Mr. J. S. Clayton, Watts, and Baron Huddleston, the statue of Queen Victoria for Winchester (Figs. 597 and 598), the memorial to Fawcett in Westminster Abbey, the splendid *Howard*



FIG. 597.—MONUMENT TO QUEEN VICTORIA,
WINCHESTER, FRONT VIEW.
(ALBERT GILBERT.)

statue at Bedford, the Shaftesbury Memorial Fountain, the monument to the *Duke of Clarence*, at Windsor, and the strange but fascinating retable to the High Altar of St. Albans Cathedral (Fig. 566). Besides these more "important" works, Gilbert has carried out a large number of small figurines (Figs. 594, 595, and 596) and many decorative designs, from the army officers' gift to Queen Victoria at her first Jubilee to such toys as seals. Of these a seal for Lady de Vesci may be named as one of the finest.

Mr. Gilbert possesses a more originating brain than any other living British sculptor. When at his best, every new commission was for him a new problem,

with all sorts of possibilities attached to it. In thinking it over, his head began to teem with ideas, æsthetical and technical, the result being too often a slowness in execution which tried the patience of all concerned a little too highly. The result has been that not one, probably, of his more important creations represents

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his thought exactly. As an instance of this the bust of Baron Huddleston may be named. It was conceived as an attempt at something like illusion, an enamelled bronze which should be comparable in its effect to the colored terra-cotta bust of Colley Cibber (Fig. 549) in the Portrait Gallery. To this idea he afterward returned in the St. Albans reredos, which, in turn, has been left unfinished. Mr. Gilbert's technical skill and resources are as great as those of Cellini; it is only when we come to what may be called his external judgment that we find much to criticise. Give him a blank to fill and he will fill it, in time, with a masterpiece. Unfortunately it is not always the right sort of masterpiece. The Shaftesbury fountain is beautiful; in silver, on a circular dining table, it would be beauty in the right place. In the unhealed scar which is now called Piccadilly Circus its beauty is wasted, and the site is only half

occupied. And so with the Clarence tomb at Windsor. The sarcophagus is fine and the railing about it beautiful, but they are mutually destructive. The grille hides the sarcophagus almost as perversely as the bronze grille hides Henry VII. in his chapel at Westminster, while the sarcophagus blocks the voids of



FIG. 598.—MONUMENT TO QUEEN VICTORIA,
WINCHESTER, BACK VIEW.
(ALFRED GILBERT.)

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the grille, and prevents a full appreciation of its exquisite design. The greatest tragedy of art is the inability of the artist fully to realize his dreams. The pure artist, like pure gold, wastes too rapidly in use. He requires a touch of alloy to make him fit for the world's purposes, to make him content to withdraw his hand from a masterpiece while yet it might be bettered. In striving for perfection the first inspiration too often dies down, and it is not given to every one, as it was to Alfred Stevens, to be at once the unerring critic of himself and the inspired creator. Those conceptions of Alfred Gilbert which remain conceptions, which have never taken form beyond those slight indications in which their splendor can be but dimly seen, fill with an immense regret all those who have followed his career.

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FIG. 599.—BASE OF LAMP-STANDARD. (ALFRED DRURY.)

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